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The
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Papers

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The Emma Goldman Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 12

Correspondence:

October 1, 1919 to April 30, 1922

Edited by

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and

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CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia

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The Emma Goldman Papers Project

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- [Letter] 1922 March 6, Stockholm [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1922 March 6, New York [to] Emma Goldman, Stockholm (government transcript)] / International Anarchist Aid Federation.
- [Letter, 1922] March 6, New York [to] Emma Goldman, Stockholm] / Jo[s]e[ph] Spivak.
- [Letter] 1922 March 8, Stockholm [to] Carl [Newlander, Hjorkvarn, Sweden] / Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1922 March 9, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, Stockholm / Royal Board of Swedish Telegraphs.
- [Letter] 1922 March 13, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / Emma Goldman].
- [Envelope, 19]22 March 14, Stockholm [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1922 March 17, Stockholm [to Mark Mratchny, Berlin?] / Emma Goldman]. [In German.]
- [Letter] 1922 March 24, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / Emma Goldman].
- [Envelope, 19]22 March 24, Stockholm [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1922 March 25, Stockholm [to] International Anarchist Aid Federation, New York / Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1922 March 25, Stockholm [to] International Anarchist Aid Federation, New York [government transcript] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1922 March 26, Stockholm [to] Mark [Mratchny, Berlin?] / Emma Goldman]. [In German.]
- [Letter] 1922 March 29, Stockholm [to Rudolf Grossmann, Klosterneuburg, Austria] / Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1922 March 29, Stockholm [to William C. Owen, London?] / Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1922 April? Berlin?, Germany? to L'Adunata Dei Refrattari, New York] / Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Mark Mratchny, Y. Yartschun, I. Maximoff [et al]. [In Italian.]
- [Letter, 1922 April?] Copenhagen [to] Emma Goldman, Stockholm?] / Arthur Svensson].
- [Letter] 1922 April 7, Stockholm [to Rudolf Grossmann, Klosterneuburg, Austria] / Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1922 April 7, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1922 April 8, Stockholm [to] Mark [Mratchny, Berlin?] / Emma Goldman]. [In German.]
- [Letter] 1922 April 9, Stockholm [to] Ellen [A. Kennan, New York] / Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1922 April 9, Stockholm [to] Carl [Newlander, Hjorkvarn, Sweden] / Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1922 April 19, Stockholm [to Rudolf Grossmann, Klosterneuburg, Austria] / Emma Goldman]. [In German.]

Emma Goldman Papers

Contents: Reel 12

- [Postcard, 19]22 April 22, Stockholm [to] Bayard Boyesen, Athol, Mass. /
E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1922 April 22, Stockholm [to] Carl [Newlander, Hjorkvarn, Sweden] /
E[mma Goldman].
- [Postcard, 1922] April 22, Stockholm [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma]
G[oldman].
- [Letter, 19]22 April 24, Stockholm [to] Emma [Goldman], Berlin / Arthur
[Svensson].
- [Letter] 1922 April 27, Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Berlin] / [Arthur
Svensson].
- [Letter] 1922 April 27, Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Berlin] / [Arthur
Svensson].
- [Letter] 1922 April 28, Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Berlin] / [Arthur
Svensson].

Introduction to Reel 12

(October 1, 1919 to April 30, 1922)

In late 1919, Goldman was deported from the United States to the Soviet Union where she stayed for almost two years to observe and scrutinize the path of the Bolshevik Revolution. The U.S. Justice Department began planning Goldman's deportation months before her release from prison in September 1919. J. Edgar Hoover, a Special Assistant to the Attorney General, prepared the case against Goldman using the 1918 Immigration Act that allowed the government to deport aliens who belonged to organizations advocating sabotage or revolution. Goldman embarked on a brief lecture tour to the Midwest (speaking on the repression of dissent in the United States and the promise of the Russian Revolution) between her appearance before immigration officials on October 27, 1919 and her incarceration on Ellis Island on December 5. On December 21, government officials herded Goldman, Berkman, and 247 other immigrant radicals onto the *SS Buford* to Soviet Russia via Finland.

After a warm welcome in Petrograd on January 19, 1920, Goldman and Berkman visited Petrograd and Moscow to learn first hand of the progress of the revolution. In the summer, they travelled through the Ukraine to collect artifacts for the Petrograd Museum of the Revolution. The poverty and social dislocation she discovered shocked her, but she attributed the dire situation to five years of war, the Allied blockade, and the counterrevolution of the White armies. Despite her acceptance of the draconian policies of "war communism," she began to have private misgivings about the regime, particularly its suppression of dissent as evidenced by the internment and execution of pro-revolutionary anarchists. The brutal suppression of the Kronstadt rebellion in March 1921 forced Goldman and Berkman to go public with their

criticisms of the Bolsheviks. Realizing the incompatibility of anarchism and Bolshevism, Goldman and Berkman obtained Soviet passports in November 1921 and crossed into Latvia, never to return.

Thus began a search for political asylum that for Goldman lasted several years and for Berkman the remainder of his life. In January 1922, when Latvia refused to extend their visas, they departed for Stockholm where, after great trouble, they secured only temporary visas. Both desperately sought a country that would grant them more permanent residence. In late April 1922, Goldman entered Germany under a temporary permit.

A number of important letters chronicle the period surrounding Goldman's deportation. On November 1, 1919, Goldman circulated several copies of a letter to many of her friends and acquaintances proclaiming her determination to continue her work. Awaiting deportation at Ellis Island in December, she penned a series of farewell letters, including a poignant one to Reitman (December 19, 1919). Four days earlier, the unofficial Russian ambassador to the U.S., Ludwig A. Martens, extended the Soviet invitation to the deportees and promised that "everybody be he bourgeois, an anarchist or a Communist is in Free Russia at liberty to express his opinion—as long as they did not actively cooperate with the enemies of Soviet Russia."

Once again, in Russia as in the Jefferson City penitentiary, Goldman corresponded most frequently with her niece, Stella Ballantine. Goldman's letters to Ballantine and others such as the British writer Frank Harris capture the excitement, adventure, loneliness, sense of separation from American friends and family, and, only very subtly and rarely, her growing doubts about the Bolsheviks. Though she remained cryptic out of fear of having her criticism used by the Revolution's enemies and the suspicion that her hosts

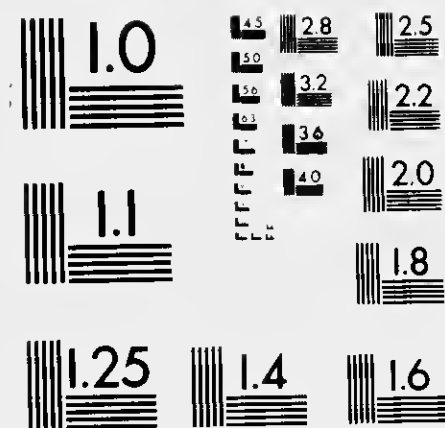
read her mail, she nevertheless occasionally admonished her niece to "read between the lines."

Her actions in Soviet Russia did not match the circumspection of her letters abroad. Two months after their arrival, she and Berkman began to press the Bolshevik leadership to allay their misgivings. They met Lenin in February or early March 1920 with the help of Angelica Balabanoff, secretary of the Third International. Two March 1920 letters after the interview respectively query Lenin about Soviet treatment of anarchists and lay out the principles of a new organization, "The Russian Friends of American Freedom." Another letter, written nearly a year later (March 5, 1921) to Zinoviev, expresses concern about the fate of the Kronstadt rebels.

As soon as they left Russia, Goldman and Berkman began their anti-Bolshevik campaign in letters, pamphlets, and newspapers. One of the earliest of these, a letter to the British anarchist newspaper *Freedom* (January 7, 1922), exemplifies their sweeping indictment of the Soviets. In a controversial move that some of her friends believed compromised her integrity, Goldman went to the mass market press when she published a series of articles in the New York *World* which criticized the Bolshevik regime (see Goldman Writings Series). Several letters portray her deliberations and those of her friends in taking this step.

The reel ends with four letters from Goldman's new lover Arthur Svensson. Goldman met Svensson, a Swedish anarchist, during her brief stay in Stockholm while she awaited her German visa.

16X



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 between Oct. 2 and Nov. 20] New York [to Ellen? A.? Kennan?, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Spring 1919

18877

EMMA GOLDMAN
36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

Dearest
Can you have dinner
at my sister's place with
me the night I want
to see you? I might
and never get a chance
of seeing you. You are
always so busy when even
I call on you. Only last night
I saw you.

182-4th

Hochstein & Herso

1st bell on night land near door,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850702283

[Letter, 1919 between Oct. 2 and Nov. 18] New York [to] Harry [Weinberger, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 22 x 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Spring 5305

EMMA GOLDMAN
36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

241

Dear Harry. There is no dinner in
Wells tomorrow. Our people could
not secure another restaurant. They
asked for a later date. I gave them
Dec. 1942. But I have my doubts
if they will find a place for us.
I suppose the same will happen
at the eleventh hour in Detroit
or Chicago. I only hope I can do
us in N.Y. not when we have
started out.

Some black days have us ahead.
What can be done about the tickets.
I hope we can get the money
refunded. Let me know. Will be
at my office about 10 A.M. tomorrow

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 between Oct. 2 and Nov. 18] New York [to] Harry [Weinberger, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 22 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

a letter from a later date. I gave them
the 1912. But I have my doubts.
They will find a place for us.
I suppose. The same will happen
at the eleventh hour in Detroit
& Chicago. I only hope it will
us in NY not when we have
started out.

Some black days have us ahead.
What can be done about the ticket.
I hope we can get the money
refunded. Let me know. Will the
at my office about 10 AM tomorrow
I would like that letter to I in
Chicago. Be incise from tax in
arrived to day.

Darkfully
EG

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 between Oct. 2 and Nov. 14] New York [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Spring 5305

EMMA GOLDMAN

36 GROVE STREET

NEW YORK

 241

Friday

Dear H W.

A friend of mine Mr J Goodman will call on you tomorrow morning. Please give him a few moments of your valuable time. He just wants a few suggestions. He is a Chicago man.

Let me know when we may get together. I am engaged tomorrow evening.

E G

The Emma Goldman Papers

860610002

[Letter] 1919 Oct. 5 [New York to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

dearest Leon Sunday Oct 5th, 1919
I must have sent you a queer note about
me. I am not entering a lot of
you even a line. I will not enter a lot of
lines, except that the prison left me mentally
in a terrible turmoil as physically so
very tired. Until I got to Rock, I was full
determined to see you as my only
NY. But the day with my undignified
sister Helena who is a complete
named all my sentiments. I had to
get away to NY. Ben has, I thought
my reading will take place yesterday
anyway. I am in such a dazed, can't
stand since I left Jefferson, I move
about as in a terrible dream.
I send you will understand, dear
Leon. And that you will forgive my
seeming neglect.
Laska arrived only yesterday and
my passing very much. I, as
usually look the picture of death.
I do not ask how it feels inside
of me. I have no plans except to
get away for a few days in the country.
Perhaps they I will be better able to
decide a few things.
I had hoped you would be in
NY yesterday because of your journey
and that I would be able to
see you. I wonder how the heart
to Albany stopped. I would like
to see a trip with Mose to see
you. Otherwise we'll have to wait
one or two a little longer.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

860610002

[Letter] 1919 Oct. 5 [New York to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

[2]
needless to say, I do want to see
you. I am at 36 Chaucer St. with
Stella for the present. I am
looking for an apt. but it seems
utterly impossible to find one
then the rents are so awful. Any
way, you can write to me here
and when I return from the
week's rest, perhaps you can run
over to see me.

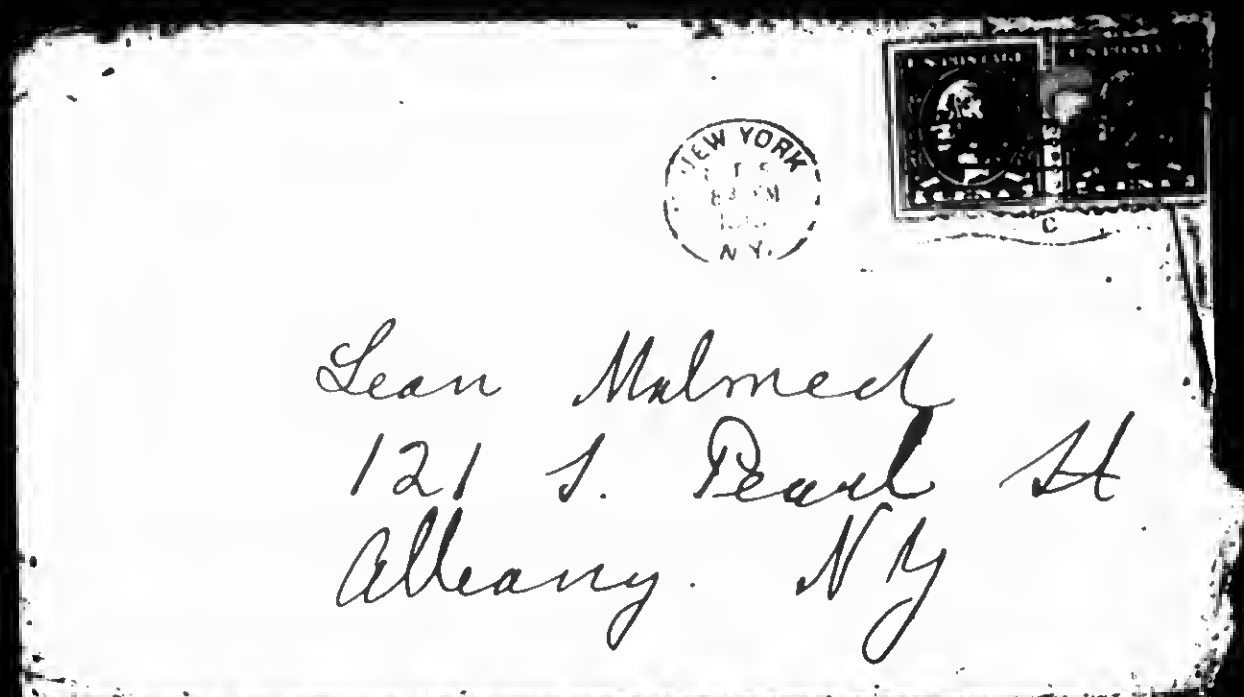
Dear, dear friends, thanks for
your kindness while I was in
prison. Always with love
your CG CG

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1919 Oct. 5, N[ew] Y[ork to] Leon Malméd, Albany N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.



The Emma Goldman Papers

870916489

[Letter, 1919] Oct. 10 [New York to unknown recipient] / E[mma] G[oldman].—
1 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

11218

36 Grove Street, Oct. 10th

My dear Comrade:-

I really should have dropped you a line just as soon as I came out of that dreadful place in Missouri, but I have been too dazed and too confused since. In fact I am really not out of prison mentally. I find it difficult to get away from the Pen. long enough to be interested in anything else. Then too my living conditions in this city has been very trying. My niece is in the midst of moving to the floor above, besides having caught a severe cold. Her present place is all torn up and the new place not yet ready, so you can imagine the confusion under which we are living now.

Truth is I am unfit for anything until I will have a rest, so Berkman and I have decided to go away to the country for a week. We hope to return in better shape to meet our friends and to get back to our work.

My hearing re deportation is to take place Oct. 16th but we are trying for a postponement, so I do not have to rush back to the city before I have had time to get a good breath of the country. I will then arrange to have you come to N.Y. to see me. Meanwhile I do not want you to think that I have forgotten you or yours. I am glad to have your phone as I can easily communicate with you

Remember me affectionately to your family,

Ever devotedly,

EG EG

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850625628

[Letter] 1919 Oct. 15 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman, Mohegan Lake, N. Y.] /
[Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

October 15th, 1919.

My dear E. G.

Having gotten a shave, a hair cut, a shampoo, a
massage, and a shoe shine, I feel almost able to answer your
note. (I did not get a manicure, for I got one last week)
You see I did not leave much out.

I want to say, before I forget it, that you should do
nothing in reference to your matter until I see you. I suppose,
if you are getting the newspapers up there, the kind of
resolutions re deportations that are being introduced in Con-
gress are coming to your attention. The N. Y. American
had a fine editorial today denouncing a Senator's speech re
deportation of Minor and Bullitt and other Americans.

I note your orders to the commissary department, for-
merly "James Department". Of course an army travels on its
belly, and must take its food along. I cannot tell at this
time yet whether I can come up. The Abrams case may be
not reached before Monday, in which event it would be doubtful
if I could come up. I received a telegram that the case would
probably be reached on Thursday or Friday, and at this writing
I am figuring on ^{Friday} ~~Thursday~~ in which even I would probably be back
in New York Saturday. However I am in the lap of the
goddesses, and nothing is definite.

Hope the four musketeers are getting a good rest and
change,

Sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

860515111

[Letter, 1919] Oct. 18, Mohegan Lake [N.Y. to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

My dear Leon, I have Mohegan Oct 18
is new if I was in the right
spirit to make the trip to Albany. I should
not do it unless your wife, dying
the hospital after child birth. That
would be the receipt of toothlessness
if which as you know I never
want to be guilty. But the truth
is I am in a muddled state
of mind, unfit for companionship
so there would be no sense
in my making the trip.
Sabbath I am at this wonderful
place - 90 miles from Peekskill
since Monday. I wish I could
stay a month it is so remote
so quiet here - just the place
for two bruised souls as we
are. But I must return to NY
Monday - my bearing in re-dep
ation is high. It will mean a
lighter fight and I have no hope
for a victory.
A public dinner is being
arranged for Sunday morning at
taken place, the 24th - I will be
from Monday at the Bryant
Hotel. The place seats only
200, but we could get no larger

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The Emma Goldman Papers

860515111

[Letter, 1919] Oct. 18, Mohegan Lake [N.Y. to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] /
E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.
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place. Could you not come
on for it? If you can, you
must send your order & check
at once to Mrs. Anna M. Sloan
88 Washington Place
N.Y. City

It is 3:30 now. The school will begin
at 4 P.M. The orders will be arranged
according to the time they arrive
& no more accepted after you
have been reserved. Come if you
can & stay a day, then we
can get together.

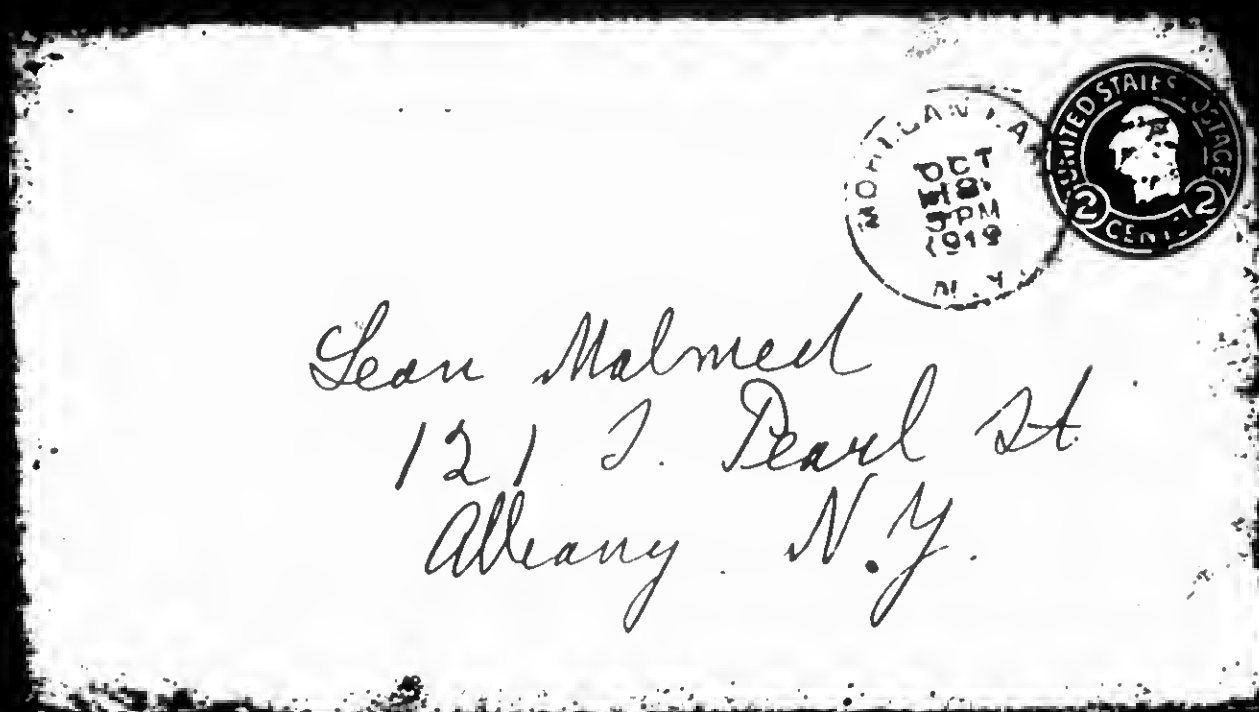
Knowing your married life,
I was really shocked to learn
of the new baby. But there are
so many conflicting motives in
human life, one has no right
to judge. I hope the baby
is well & will bring you joy.
Devotedly,
E. G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1919 Oct. 18, Mohegan Lake, N.Y. [to] Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y. /
[Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 8 × 14 cm.

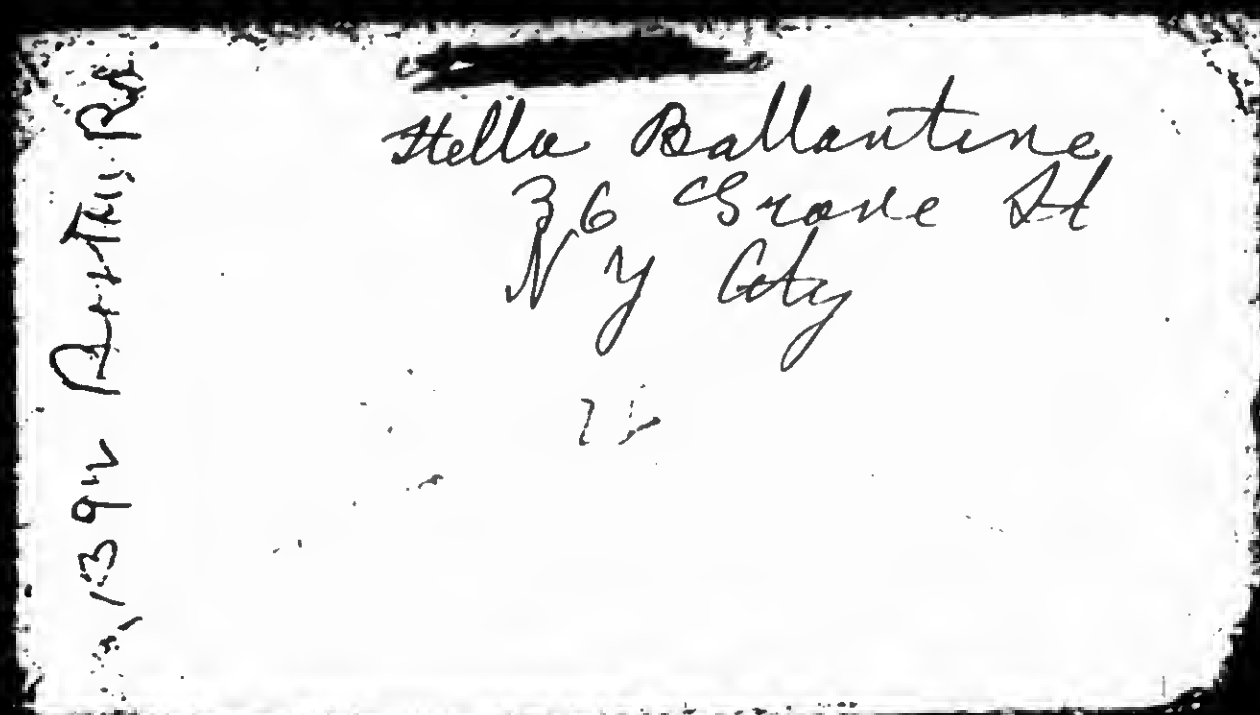
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The Emma Goldman Papers

860515110

[Envelope] 1919 Oct. 18, Mohegan Lake, N.Y. [to] Leon Malméd, Albany, N.Y. /
[Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 8 × 14 cm.
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The Emma Goldman Papers

870919217

[Letter] 1919 Oct. 22 [New York to Ben Capes, St. Louis, Mo.] / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

my dearest boy. Oct 22 nd 1919 31819
you must excuse me utterly excuses,
but I have written you not a line since
my release, nearly a month ago. I dare
not give up my mind every day.
Yet I could not write. Our life, mine
even more than yours. I am living
a perfect chaos of guilt and shame
confusion as I know. He managed to
get away to the country but I was
driven back to town by a new attack
of malaria, and had to be pulled out
ready to make some time to come out.
I have only few left and I must make
a sacrifice in the matter of sleep
age. But as I am still in the hospital
for which I am grateful to the doctors
who have needed it so much. As in my
situation I have given up sleep for rest
or peace, I cannot keep by the my
desire, but I fight against fate.
I am not at present, I am nervous, still
she has suffered a complete collapse
since my release to N.Y. The strain of
worrying as the anxiety and other things
located in not less and of course is
nothing very serious. But she has to
stay in bed as he looked after. So I am
back to my old profession - nursing
also, it is a case of the same looking
after the blind.
You will see by the other side that
there are doing a dangerous next Monday
night you could be not up, I am not
if you send a word at least. Address
to Mrs Anna M. Sloan Cohen - to her
Charmain

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[Letter] 1919 Oct. 22 [New York to Ben Capes, St. Louis, Mo.] / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive

address for the Brevard Hotel on the day
of the dinner. I know you'll be 1820 with
us in secret. We'll probably have to
have a dinner of dinners as we can
get no restaurant large enough
all who want to come. The Brevard
is the only hotel place. Neither have
we been able to secure a hall. The
conditions in N.Y. are frightful.
I am as I am going on the boat
in Nov. I expect to arrive
in Detroit the 22nd, in Chicago the
30th of Nov. I also want to go
to St. Louis, possibly Kansas City. I
have decided the 24th day, but have
no time to see Judge Smith or any
one likely to get me being all the
way. I am very busy in all
city - I am in N.Y. at 12 and
I know and what I am
in the absence, we were talking
about.
Daguer was away when I left, so I
could not see him, although your
visit to C.H.A. Besides I do not think
he would have consented. And now, with the
papers carrying my criticism of his
conduct, I will certainly refuse. I am
terribly sorry for the work of work of you.
Do write him after that, he is more likely
than ever.
My dear Ben is now definitely not
the 24th just the day of the dinner. I am
prepared in statement which will be carried
by some papers anyway. The fight will
begin later. We hope to be able to do it on
a large scale as Ben let the future take

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870919217

[Letter] 1919 Oct. 22 [New York to Ben Capes, St. Louis, Mo.] / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

care of itself.

So here my responsibility of you ¹¹⁸²¹ ~~up on~~
over to Chicago during the ~~whole~~ of the
stay here as well as we too have
enough. I hope I may do much to see
you. It is nearly midnight and I
am all in. Good night dear and
forgive my long silence. Sometimes I
have in more expressive in silence
than in words and my love for you
is not deep or great.

Dedicatedly & &

Love to Sda as the kids. How are they
all?

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter?] 1919 Oct. 27, New York [to unknown recipient (fragment)] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 10 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

With all the power ^{and} /intensity of my being I protest against this conspiracy of imperialist capitalism against the life and the liberty of the American people.

Emma Goldman

RECEIVED
OCT 27 1919

New York City

Oct 27, 1919

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The Emma Goldman Papers

860610003

[Letter, 1919 Oct. 31, New York to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 5 p. ; 14 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

[October 31, 1919] Tuesday, midnight
Dearest, faithful, devoted Leon
Your beautiful letter touched
me deeply. You make me feel
very pleased when you say "But
I mean so much to you."
You speak of falling in love
dearest! I don't believe there
is here than the one which
brings two people by a great
ideal and aims in that.
Is it not?
As to the other kind it
has brought me much pain
and bitter joy. More and
more I come to the conclusion
that a personal love is
not for one who dedicates
himself to an ideal. Some
how it is like serving
two masters. Of course, you
long for a personal love
for a real home and

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The Emma Goldman Papers

860610003

[Letter, 1919 Oct. 31, New York to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 5 p. ; 14 x 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

the comforts that come from [2]
deep personal affection
a devotion such as you
for instance. But no
man could be satisfied
to give all of himself. And
to receive my return only
a small part of the work
of love. And now is it
to give all when every
piece of one's self is
being injured, the university
and the need, not
expect a love that, the
man is the prisoner and
so the more he is
and the more he is
one of your people in
every heart that is
out of personal love. But
when the year begins

to pick up when kindly [3]
a broken calm is slowly
in the universe. No, the
can be no personal
life for me, many years
with you, dear and dear
sharply continue in your
beautiful devotion to
me as all in love with
youngest woman in
you will be interested
in you about my
ing to do the good
the my work is not
the university
the university
When I will make a
for the making of
will be making one

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The Emma Goldman Papers

860610003

[Letter, 1919 Oct. 31, New York to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 5 p. ; 14 × 22 cm.

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[4]
The ordinary argument
still the Capital will, coming
to about 90. But it will
be worth 175. I never
imagined I will own
such a coat. I can imagine
the criticism of camp life
our comrades. Little will
they know that it was
your devotion that helped
me to such an expensive
article.
I am also having a flat
iron dress made. I simply
have to get one. That task
will cost a little more
one very heavily made garment.
But I will be dressed
up in my new dress again.
I am certain of it. Beyond
my means, the father

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The Emma Goldman Papers

860610003

[Letter, 1919 Oct. 31, New York to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 5 p. ; 14 × 22 cm.

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being holding at all. ⁽⁵⁾ I
haven't yet earned a cent
but these things do not
bother me much. So
long as I have an ideal
to explain me. We have
a deep conviction. We
beautiful education and
love, of dear Leon. — The
rest matters little.
I was very working
hard these last few days
on the separation lines.
It must cost a terrible
lot of money. I can't
I could have understood
meetings well, we'll see
— will see you later
It is late and I am
very tired. Say it
and meet quickly.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

860610003

[Letter, 1919 Oct. 31, New York to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma]
G[oldman].— 5 p. ; 14 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

imagined complete in thought^[6]
and in spirit, good night
Write again soon
I hope will write after
and perhaps we can
again meet in the near
future
Affectionately
E. G.

Sasha will no doubt
write you himself.

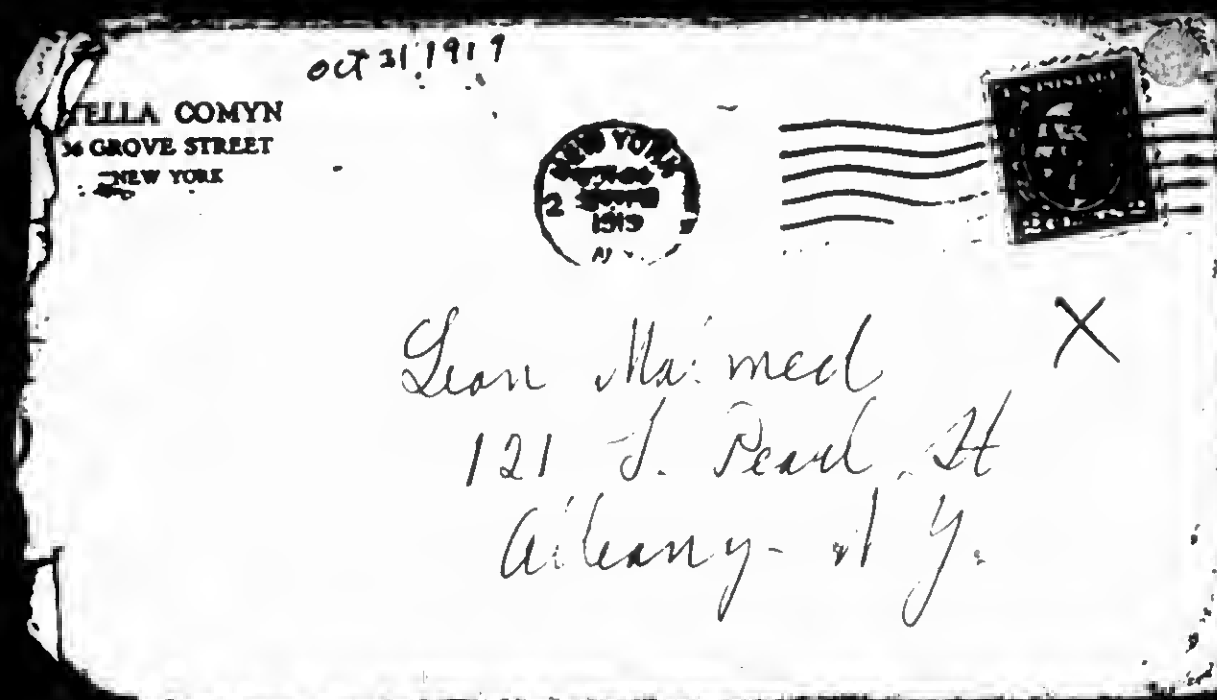
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The Emma Goldman Papers

860515114

[Envelope] 1919 Oct. [31] New York [to] Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 Nov. 1] New York [to Gale's, Mexico City] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Back From Prison, Spirits Undaunted

A Message From Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman

(Since the below article was written, orders have been issued by the American government for the deportation of the two splendid comrades who wrote this inspiring message. The good wishes of radicals of every creed and shade go with them. May they reach Soviet Russia safely and suffer no treachery on the way.—L.A.R.G.)

Dear Friend:

There are moments in life when one's heart is too full for utterance, and language too inadequate to satisfy one's urge for expression. We are just now living thru such a moment. Fresh on the threshold of the larger life, upon our release from prison, we would fain like to meet and embrace each and every dear comrade whose spirit and thots were with us during our incarceration, and whose invisible hand and sympathetic touch made them the living and ever-present companions of our long, weary days and months. But unfortunately, such close personal contact is not within our power, and therefore we take this much less satisfying method of sending our greetings and love to you, dear friend, comrade, and fellow-sufferer.

Need we say the things that swell our hearts at this crucial moment, or even mention the deep appreciation of your friendship and comradeship that helped to sustain our spirits in the dark night of our past two years? Surely you know and understand. It is the inexpressible blessing enjoyed only by the political prisoners in prison, that they—in contrast with the ordinary social victim—have an ideal to sustain them, a star of hope and faith to guide and encourage them even in the blackest hours of humiliation and suffering. It is the great cause of the New Life, of the already approaching Dawn, that lifts the mind and spirit of a political prisoner above and beyond the stifling atmosphere and crushing routine of prison life and inspires him or her with ever renewed courage and endurance. But in this triumphant inspiration of a great Ideal, the devotion and loyalty of one's friends and comrades is the greatest single factor, the vital importance of which only the prisoner can realize fully. And so, dear friend, we want you to feel that it was you, your sympathetic understanding, your faith and confidence in us, and your steadfastness of heart and mind amid the present chaos of soul demoralization that have been our main support and source of strength and hope.

And now we are out again, out in the free air and sunshine that feel so good and invigorating, out in the larger prison called the world of which the little cell and the penal discipline are but the reflex in miniature. We say it freely and frankly, with utmost conviction, that both of us are entering again upon the remaining sentences of our lives, with our spirits unbroken, entirely unrepentant—indeed, with a will unembittered by the acid of the prison test, but rather purified and made stronger, with our minds happily unimpaired by the terrible experiences of the last two years, our hearts youthful with the joy of life, of work, of social effort.

In short, to speak colloquially, we are on the job again. Locks and bars and dungeons may stifle the voice, but no power on earth can paralyze our inherent love of liberty. Even in the grave-like silence of the prison night our wills remained steadfast, our minds alive and active. Many thots and hopes we have dreamed, many plans fashioned in the solitude of the two past years. Now is the time to attempt their realization.

Among the very first of the things we have planned is the immediate effort to aid the fellow prisoners we have left behind. In the Missouri State Prison, at Jefferson City, in the Federal Penitentiary, at Atlanta, Ga., as in every other prison of these democratic United States, there are buried men and women—and especially political and industrial prisoners—whose voices call loudly to us, whose misery we suffer again in our waking days and restless nights. We owe them a duty that society has neglected, the duty of one human toward another, and particularly the duty of helping to restore the political prisoners to comparative liberty.

We mean to concentrate our immediate effort upon arousing widespread public sentiment in favor of the political prisoners, thousands of whom are in jails and prisons of this country, with the aim of securing a general amnesty. In this work we shall use the opportunity of exposing the brutal treatment and the barbaric punishments that still prevail in the prisons and to which the political prisoners are subjected with even greater severity than the average criminal.

Furthermore, there is another work of utmost importance. The government of these United States is now introduced, on a large scale, the Censorship of suppressing unpopular thot and ideas. Deportation of so-called aliens is fast becoming an established American institution, and if allowed to remain unmodified by the liberal minded spirits of the country, this imperialistic system of stifling the voice of social protest will become rooted in American life. Deportation is but the first step that will inevitably lead to the ultimate complete suppression of popular discussion and free speech by the system of exiling even the native testaments and rebels. Among others threatened by deportation are also ourselves. We mean to combat this new symptom of American Prussianism with our utmost efforts.

These, briefly sketched, are our plans for immediate activity. For this purpose we plan to begin a tour of the country, visiting for the present the larger cities such as Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City. Our tentative program is to hold two mass-meetings in each city, as well as other affairs, such as a dinner, for the purpose of formally meeting our friends and comrades, the program of the meetings are to be devoted to the purpose mentioned above.

Dear friend, we know that you realize fully the necessity and importance of our proposed venture. Your aid and cooperation are vital to secure the success of our efforts. We are anxious to hear from you on this matter at the earliest date, as we are planning to begin our tour very soon.

Hoping to hear from you, we are

Fraternally,

Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman

Address:

Emma Goldman,

36 Grove St., New York City.

Alexander Berkman, c/o M. E. Fitzgerald,

857 Broadway, New York City.

The Expulsion of Berger

Congress has decided, by an all but unanimous vote, that Victor L. Berger is unfit to sit as one of its members.

There was but one dissenting vote, that of a Wisconsin representative, who doubtless fears the wrath of his constituents, affected as they are by the work of the Milwaukee Socialists; the House, with that one exception, votes that the Socialist party has no right to be heard.

This is the House that tolerates, without protest, a leading member who said on its floor "a conscript is as bad as a convict".... But he was not a Socialist, and he keeps his seat.

This is the same congress that accepted as a member the late Timothy D. Sullivan, elected in 1913 while insane in an asylum, and who drew his congressional salary for a year, until he was killed on a railroad track while escaping from the asylum, altho he was not mentally competent to do anything, much less exercise his congressional functions.

This is the House that has tolerated for years the presence of the unspeakable Heflin, whose pleasure it has been to make foul and scurrilous and well nigh unprintable

Continued on page 27

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 1, New York [to Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

New York, N. Y.
 November 1, 1919.

Dear Friend,

There are moments in life when one's heart is too full for utterance, and language too inadequate to satisfy one's urge for expression. We are just now living through such a moment. Fresh on the threshold of the larger life, upon our release from prison, we would fain like to meet and embrace each and every dear comrade whose spirit and thoughts were with us during our incarceration, and whose invisible hand and sympathetic touch made them the living and ever-present companions of our long, weary days and months. But, unfortunately, such close personal contact is not within our power, and therefore we take this much less satisfying method of sending our greetings and love to you, dear friend, comrade, and fellow-sufferer.

Need we say the things that swell our hearts at this crucial moment, or even mention the deep appreciation of your friendship and comradeship that helped to sustain our spirits in the dark night of our past two years? Surely you know and understand. It is the inexpressible blessing enjoyed only by the politicals in prison, that they — in contrast with the ordinary social victim — have an ideal to sustain them, a star of hope and faith to guide and encourage them even in the blackest hours of humiliation and suffering. It is the great cause of the New Life, of the already approaching Dawn, that lifts the mind and spirit of a political prisoner above and beyond the stifling atmosphere and crushing routine of prison life and inspires him or her with ever renewed courage and endurance. But in this triumphant inspiration of a great ideal, the devotion and loyalty of one's friends and comrades is the greatest single factor, the vital importance of which only the prisoner can realize fully. And so, dear friend, we want you to feel that it was you, your sympathetic understanding, your faith and confidence in us, and your steadfastness of heart and mind amid the present chaos of soul demoralization that have been our main support and source of strength and hope.

And now we are out again, out in the free air and sunshine that feel so good and invigorating, out in the larger prison called the world of which the little cell and the penal discipline are but the reflex in miniature. We say it freely and frankly, with utmost conviction, that both of us are entering again upon the remaining sentences of our lives, with our spirits unbroken, entirely unrepentant — indeed, with a will unembittered by the acid of the prison test, but rather purified and made stronger, with our minds happily unimpaired by the terrible experiences of the last two years, our hearts youthful with the joy of life, of work, of social effort.

In short, to speak colloquially, we are on the job again. Locks and bars and dungeons may stifle the voice, but no power on earth can paralyze our inherent love of liberty. Even in the grave-like silence of the prison night our wills remained steadfast, our minds alive and active. Many thoughts and hopes we have dreamed, many plans fashioned in the solitude of the two past years. Now is the time to attempt their realization.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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- 2 -

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Hoping to hear from you, we are

BS21U-12646

Fraternally,

Address:
 Emma Goldman,
 36 Grove St. New York, N.Y.

Alexander Berkman, c/o E. Fitzgerald, 857 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 1, New York [to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Anna Strunsky-Walling Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

New York, N. Y.
November 1, 1919.

Dear Friend:

There are moments in life when one's heart is too full for utterance, and language too inadequate to satisfy one's urge for expression. We are just now living through such a moment. Fresh on the threshold of the larger life, upon our release from prison, we would fain like to meet and embrace each and every dear comrade whose spirit and thoughts were with us during our incarceration, and whose invisible hand and sympathetic touch made them the living and ever-present companions of our long, weary days and months. But, unfortunately, such close personal contact is not within our power, and therefore we take this much less satisfying method of sending our greetings and love to you, dear friend, comrade, and fellow-sufferer.

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Hoping to hear from you, we are

BS&AU-12646

Fraternally,

Address:
 Emma Goldman,
 36 Grove St. New York, N.Y.

Emma Goldman
Alexander Berkman

Alexander Berkman, c/o A. E. Fitzgerald, 657 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

The Emma Goldman Papers

860610004

[Letter, 1919] Nov. 5, New York [to Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

EMMA GOLDMAN
36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

Nov. 5th [1919]

My dearest Max. I regret to acknowledge
the sugar before but didn't have time
to do it. I was busy folding, inserting
& stamping 300 letters. How I wish
you were in N.Y. I would have
such joy to have your help.
I'll be home until late. I'll go but
you are doing so much. As it
was, I had to do most of it my-
self. Though a few girls helped.
By the way, the lecture benefit
arranged by a group of girls which
took place the 31st was a great
success. They brought \$525, towards
the deportation fight. Don't it great
what some of our people can
do.²
As far as the fight is concerned
I will require \$10,000 to make
it nation-wide. But I have
hopes to raise it through meetings
& the help of the committee. In
N.Y. we have been unable to sec-
ure a hall or lecture. Only 2 places
are left. The Peoples House & that

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The Emma Goldman Papers

860610004

[Letter, 1919] Nov. 5, New York [to Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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[2]

EMMA GOLDMAN
36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

maybe refused us - or I suppose, hell
we'll take the latter as a last resort
because it is so small a move cause
travelling.

The Philadelphia comrades are
arranging a dinner for the 15th of
the month. Wish you could be
here with us. How awful that you
must be so tied? Everything is
so uncertain - yet we can not
use the short time we have to
see more of each other. I am
in a worse fix than you - a
million things to do & so few to
help - not even a B. He is still
under the terror of the prison
& so very restless.

Dearest, faithful, happy, indeed you
will remain that to me all my
life. When I think of you, it is
always as of a beautiful restless
landscape - no gear, no pulling
or tearing at my soul. I have
had so little of peace in my life

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The Emma Goldman Papers

860610004

[Letter, 1919] Nov. 5, New York [to Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

[3]

EMMA GOLDMAN
36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

you have always brought me that
how shall I ever forget it
I had my coat getting it already
looks wonderful. It will be
worth \$175, the material is warm
ship are held up the very best
I will not rest until you see
the coat. So you'll have to run
over to NY to see me in it
I am also going to have a wonder-
ful black velvet. You want
to know your c & g when you
see Lee.

Good by dear David
Write when you can
Sincerely
c & g

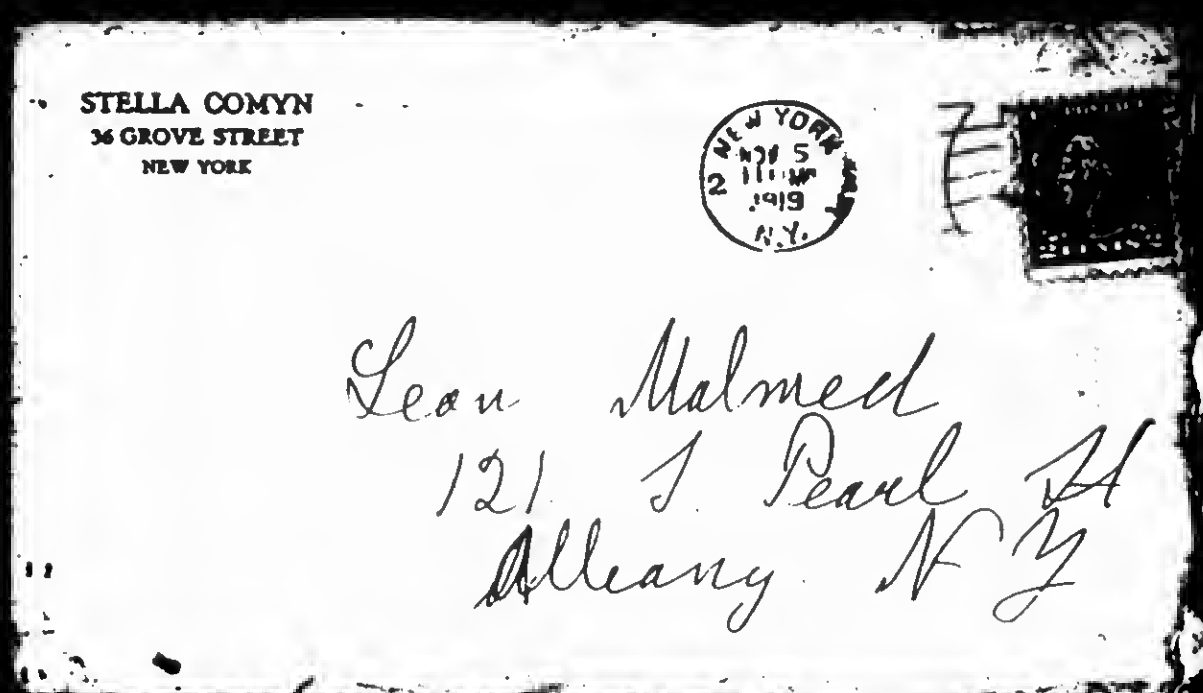
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The Emma Goldman Papers

860515116

[Envelope] 1919 Nov. 5, New York [to] Leon Malméd, Albany, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 5, New York [to] Margaret Scully, [New York (government transcript)] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the New York State Archives.

COPY

EMMA GOLDMAN
26 Grove Street
New York

November 5, 1919

My dear Miss Scully -

I arrived at my office rather late this morning, after you had phoned my niece. I had not then read your letter. Understand, my dear, that I am not in any way provoked because you did not keep your promise to come Monday morning. I realize that no one has control over his physical condition. My objection was to you waiting until noon before you notified me, in view of the fact that I could make no arrangements with anyone else for that day. You did the same thing on Saturday. You said you would go out for a little while and then did not return at all.

You must realize that in the kind of work we are doing, a certain amount of regularity must be kept or we would be swamped with the work which accumulates day by day. However, all these are minor things. The important issue is that I cannot employ anyone in the line of work we are doing of whom I know nothing about. Then, too, there is another fact -- I do not know but what any moment my place may be visited by the different Departments of State. I cannot afford to involve a girl who, like you, knows nothing about the social issues and while feeling with the great social struggles, is yet far removed from it in every respect. I have not the right to involve you.

I quite appreciate the opposition of your sister and your aunt to working in my place. If I were in their place perhaps I, too, should object - which is only another reason for my determination to work only with those who are sufficiently conversant with social ideas to decide for themselves whether or not they want to work in my place.

I am sorry, because I really love your work. Few women are competent to do the work as well as you are doing it, but it will be best for you, as well as myself, if you find another position. As to helping, thanks very much but it is best not to accept your offer, since you will be tired after your day's work and I must have my evenings free to devote to other matters outside the daily routine.

Thank you very much for the work you have done so far.

With the hope that you may develop into a free and independent woman earnestly desirous to take your place in the great human struggle, I remain

Faithfully yours,

Miss Margaret Scully
1958 Third Avenue City
ES&AU-12646

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 6, New York [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

EMMA GOLDMAN

36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

241

November 6, 1919

Mr. Harry Weinberger
261 Broadway
New York City

My dear H W,

As per our talk last night, I am sending you a check for a thousand dollars from the Deportation funds, of which five hundred dollars is to go towards the indebtedness of the A B San Francisco defense, and five hundred dollars as a retainer of your fee in our deportation fight.

I am glad that you have decided to go to Rochester. I am sure you will be able to accomplish in two days more than through all the correspondence that has been carried on during two years. I think you will also enjoy your little visit as Saxy feels terribly lonely and will consider it a great even to have you with him. I understand there a number of automobiles in the family, so you will also be able to have some rides.

However, I may see you before you go or talk to you over the phone.

Faithfully yours,

Emma Goldman

ES&AU
12646

Encl. — \$1,000 check

over

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850625630

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 6, New York [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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EMMA GOLDMAN
2 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

Please apply entire amount
to department fight. Re I &
matter will be adjusted by
Litzie.

Q Q

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850625629

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 6 [New York to] Emma Goldman, New York / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

November 6th, 1919.

Miss Emma Goldman,
c/o ~~John~~ Balentine,
36 Grove Street,
New York City.

My dear M. G.:-

I enclose herewith general
statement which I believe to be pretty near
correct.

Very truly yours,

LW/IGW

Enclosure.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

831115188

[Letter, 1919] Nov. 7 [New York to unknown recipient] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 26 x 20 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The Houghton Library, Harvard University.

November 7

Dear Comrade:

Your good latter to Comrade Alexander Berkman was turned over to me. I read it to him as he is now laid up in bed with the effects of a slight operation. Nothing serious except that he has to stay in bed for several days. You remember what Reitzel used to say
Alax has suffered so much in the sixteen years of his imprisonment, and more so in the last twenty months in the terrible Atlanta prison, that the affects were inevitable. But I hope that now after the operation he will be able to pick up quickly and be his old self again.

The dinner which was contemplated by the Russian comrade for the 10th was called off much to our regret, because we were so eager to meet all our comrades and you dear friend among them. But some affair takes place on the 11th, so the Russians decided to have nothing on the day before. We ourselves have been canvassing the length and breadth of New York for a hall to hold a public meeting that all could attend, but no hall available for Alexander Berkman and E.G. Even the People's House has refused. The only hall left is Forward Hall. If Alax had not taken sick we would have had a meeting there, but under present circumstances it is best to give up the idea. A Public dinner has been arranged in Philadelphia for us for the 14th, and on the 20th we have to leave for a short tour which will include Washington, D.C., possibly Pittsburg for a dinner, Detroit for three meetings and dinner, Chicago five meetings, and a meeting and dinner possibly in St. Louis. We plan to be back in New York by the 20th of December, then after the holidays will begin our search for a hall in New York again. We both regret that we have to delay meeting a dear old comrade like yourself again. Just as soon as A.B. is in condition to receive people perhaps we can meet at a little private dinner of our own, just you and Max, A.B. and one or two others.

Yes indeed, A.B. met Richard Beginsky, and I have known him for years. He is as genuine and beautiful as Max. We are very fond of both.

I am enclosing copy of latter we are sending out to our mutual friends about our future plans.

With affectionate greetings from A.B. and myself

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 12, New York [to] Rudolf Grossman[n], Klosterneuburg, Austria / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Pierre Ramus Archive.

Mr. Rudolf Grossman
Klosterneuburg
Schiffstättgraben 237
Nied, Austria

Dear Comrade,

Your welcome card I received just a few days before my release from Jefferson Prison. Since then I have been in a mad whirl of illness, work and general confusion.

Comrade Berkman, who suffered untold tortures while in the Atlanta hellhole, came out in very bad physical condition. Aside from that he developed a grave case of hemorrhoids which caused constant hemorrhage, until he was too weak to walk and had to be operated on last Wednesday. He is doing much better, but it will take several weeks before he will get on his feet, and even then it will take months to build him up physically. Of course, his spirit is not only the same as ever but even more at red-white heat. Bear in mind that Berkman and I are no longer young, and the struggle of the last thirty years has been very intense.

As to myself, though in not very good physical condition, I am on deck, and am now busy trying to bring a semblance of order into the disorder which the Department of "Justice" and hundred other governmental bodies spread about them when they smashed up our work of many years. It will take a long time to get our office reorganized and by that time A B and I may be deported. Of course, you know that we are now under deportation charges.

A B, not having any citizen grounds, will not fight his deportation, except, of course, if this freest of all governments should decide to send him to Siberia. I will contest the attempt, but frankly, I am not very hopeful success. As I wrote to a comrade a while ago, I feel like spitting the whole outfit in the face and telling them to do their damndest. My only reason for fighting is to expose the terrible Anti-Anarchist law which is being used as a cover to reach everyone who entertains a social opinion.

I am not going how to take up the time to go into our prison experiences. A B and I are preparing a pamphlet dealing with that exclusively. Just as soon as it will be ready, we will send you copies, of course. Later on we will get up a pamphlet on deportation and political amnesty. Will send you that, too. All our other literature, with the exception of our last book, "The Green Anarch", and the Philadelphia Declaration, have been confiscated and declared "subversive". We are now at the present time.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890317168

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 12, New York [to] Rudolf Grossman[n], Klosterneuburg, Austria / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Pierre Ramus Archive.

It is to look to see if it can be put out of print. I am to see a publisher this week. I am to induce him to get out a new edition. If not, we are to publish a limited edition ourselves.

On the 21st of this month I and myself are starting on a short tour to Detroit, Chicago and St. Louis. Our comrades in these cities are making great preparations. But at the last minute, the imperialist powers may put a stop to the whole thing. Terrible raids have taken place in the last few days, with hundreds of people arrested, clubbed insensible, and tons of literature confiscated.

Oh, yes, dear Comrade, we are going through the same experience the people of Germany have had under the iron rule of Bismarck, and the people of Russia under the old regime. It seems to be inevitable that each country, even as each individual, must go through its own experiences and will not learn by the past nor yet see the writing on the wall. We are not in the least deceived of what is awaiting us; for instance, should I be permitted to remain in this country. But after all, the increasing reaction and despotism are not surprising, since we have predicted that years ago!

Indeed, I will be very glad to see your paper. Send me some copies, perhaps I can sell them here, and write me about yourself and your work and the conditions of Austria. What are the people doing? Anything that you will write will be of great interest to all of us who are cut off from direct European touch, and must get their information through the poisoned channels of the daily press.

Our dear Comrade, Max B., just came in and wants to be remembered to you. He has written you himself. Have you any idea where he is now, and could you send me his address?

I have received copies of the Swedish publication of my biographic sketch. Unfortunately, I do not read Swedish. I never saw a German translation of this - if you have a copy of the latter, I would be very glad to have you send it to me.

Write to me soon, dear Comrade, and give us all the news about your life during the war and the work you are doing.

Affectionately,

Emma Goldman

ES2AU
11646

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1919 Nov. 12?] New York [to] Rudolf Grossman[n], Klosterneuburg, Austria / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 9 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Pierre Ramus Archive.*

STELLA COMYN
36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

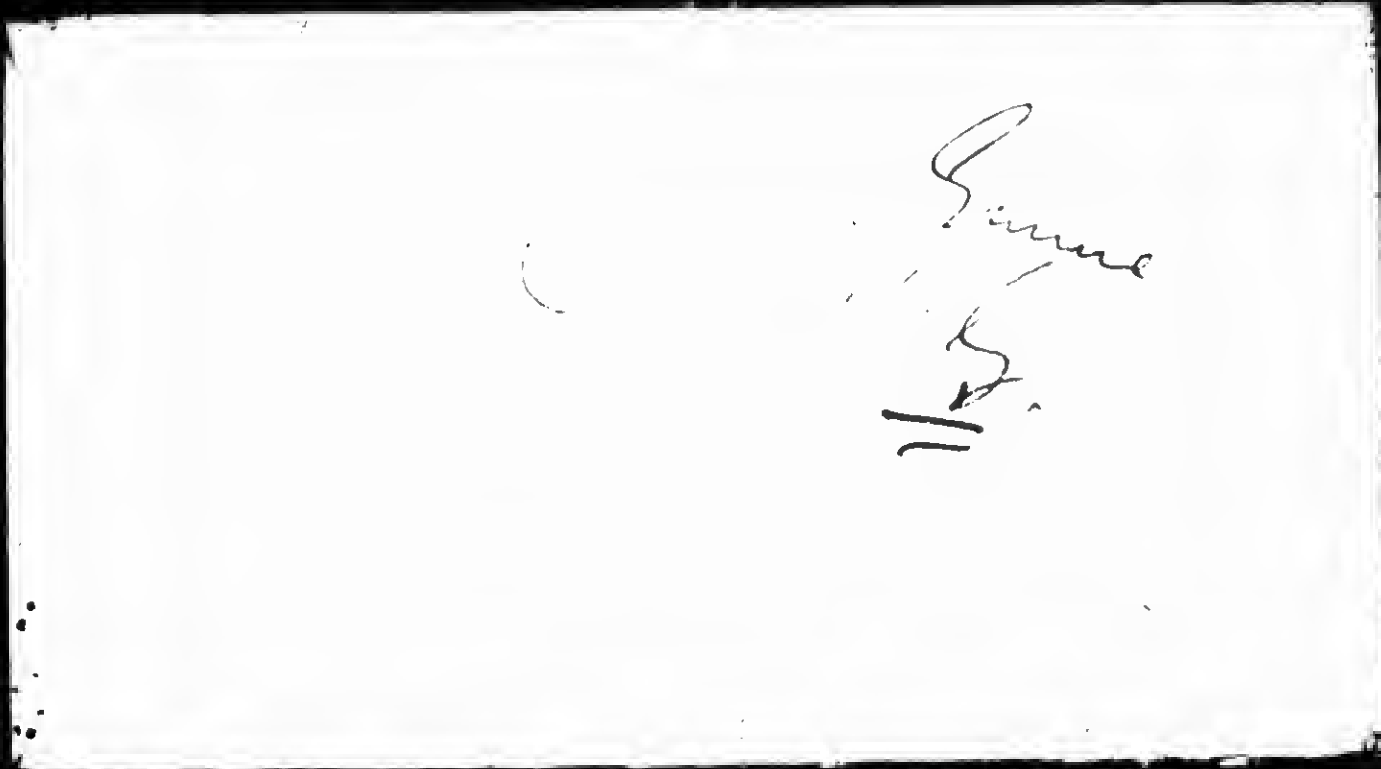


Mr. Rudolf Grossman
(P. Ramus)
Klosterneuburg
Schiefstattgraben 237
Nied, Austria

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1919 Nov. 12?] New York [to] Rudolf Grossman[n], Klosterneuburg, Austria / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 9 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Pierre Ramus Archive.*



The Emma Goldman Papers

870916486

[Letter, 1919 Nov. 13?] New York [to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, New York] / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Spring 1908

11212

EMMA GOLDMAN

36 GROVE STREET

NEW YORK

1141

Thursday

Dear Van

Can you go and a dinner with
me Saturday? If so call your me
and we will go to same Italian Rest
aurant & have a few hours together
The Kate O' Kane dinner table place
Monday eve the 14th. I will have
seats reserved for you so you
any way at the club. You will want
a bring your wife to that I suppose
The dinner table place at San Francisco
R. & Mc Dougall St. But I will
tell you more about it when I
see you Saturday
Affectionately
cg cg

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The Emma Goldman Papers

860515118

[Letter, 1919 Nov. 14] New York [to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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Spring 5308

EMMA GOLDMAN

36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

— 441 —

Monday [Nov. 14, 1919]

Leon, my dear
Yours of yesterday went through
safely. I got so uneasy when I didn't
hear from you. I don't know
why it should be — unless it is the
uncertainty of my life now — but
I do want to hear from you
often. And I do want to see you
for dinner in Phil. Had to be
abandoned — the hotel keeper locked
out — and there was not time
enough to find another place.
We may yet have a great West
Kangaroo is beautiful.

Dear Ray, the Kate Richard O'Hare
Committee has arranged a popular
dinner \$1.25 per plate at Conyars
Restaurant not far from where I
live. It takes place Monday. Wouldn't
you care to come? I want terribly
to see you. Life is so uncertain
these days, one never knows what
might happen next. Here are

The Emma Goldman Papers

860515118

[Letter, 1919 Nov. 14] New York [to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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EMMA GOLDMAN

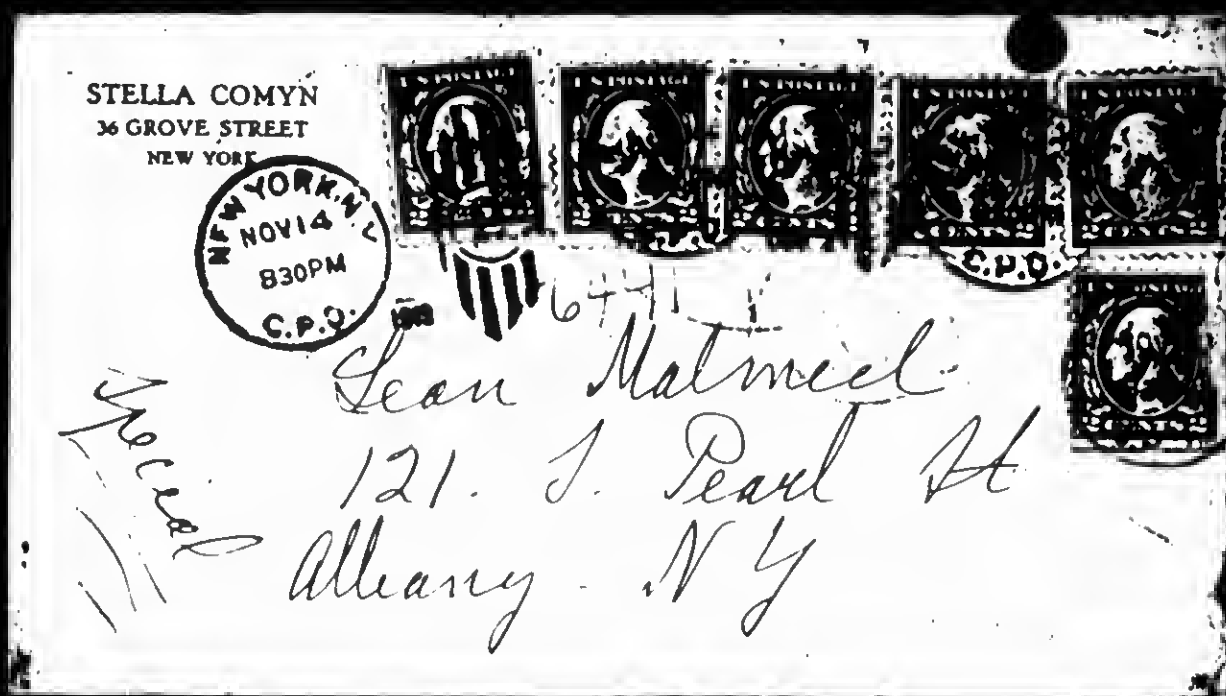
36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

important things I want to talk to
you about which I can not do by
letter. If you can come late Monday
afternoon I stay over night we'd
have a little time to ourselves.
Let me know and I will reserve
your spot. Better send me
a special when this reaches you
you must have felt terrible
when the news of your mother's
death ~~was~~ reached you. Poor
woman what she must have
suffered. My heart goes out
to you, dear, dear, more than
ever before I want to be your
friend—to help make up for
the loss of your mother.
Devotedly
EG EG

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1919 Nov. 14, New York [to] Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 9 × 14 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919] Nov. 19, New York [to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman].— 1 p.; 23 × 18 cm.

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EMMA GOLDMAN

36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

— 341

Nov. 19-12

Dearest Leon.

I leave NY Sunday at 5 P.M.
I suppose my train will pass Albany
at 8-8:30 P.M., your earliest time. I
of course, I do want to see you
but it means too much rushing
day & I came to the depot. I will step
out on the platform anyway.

If you do, come bring along
something to drink or a loaf of
domina sugar. I will need the
latter for my coffee I make in
my hotel room.

If you fail to come you can
write me at Agnes Engler. Better
put your letter addressed to me
in an envelope & readdress it to
Miss Agnes Engler 661 Seneca Ave
Detroit. Mich

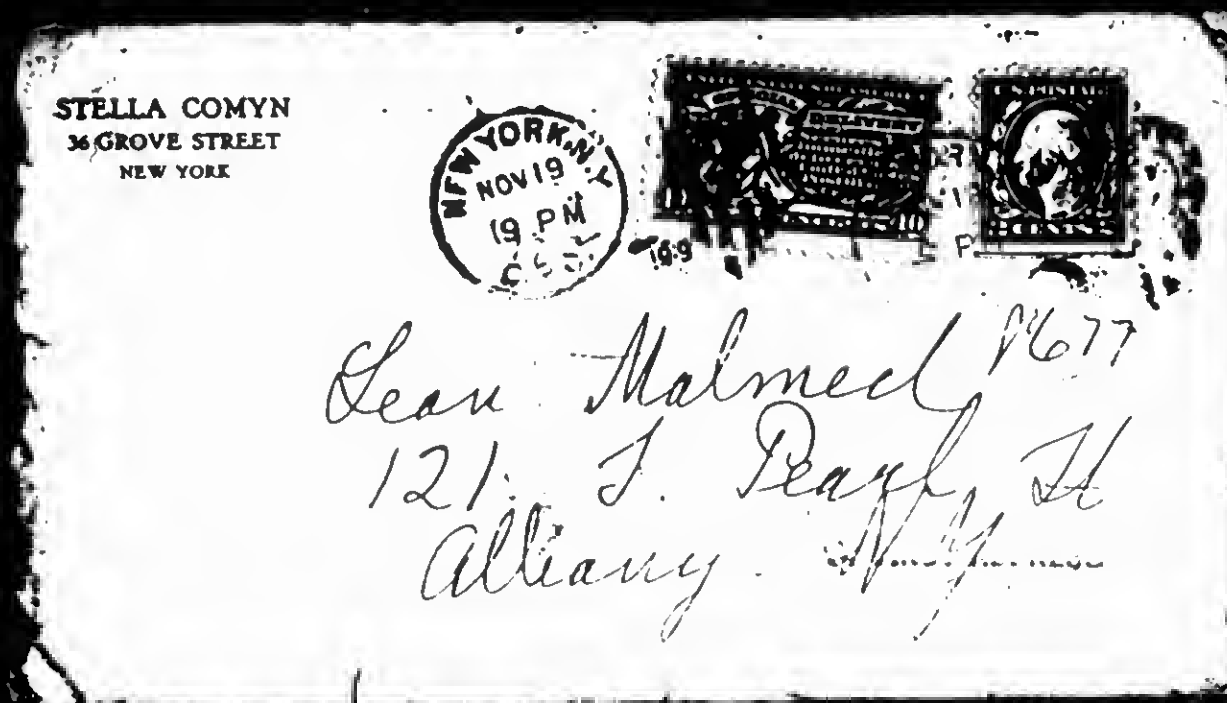
Dear faithful soul, I am so glad
to have seen you again. You helped
me to forget for a little while - the
miseries of life. With love & affection

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1919 Nov. 19, New York [to] Leon Malméd, Albany, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 8 × 14 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870916488

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 20, New York [to] W.[S.] Van Valkenburgh, S[taten] I[sland, N.Y.]
/ Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Spring 1908

EMMA GOLDMAN
36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

.11214

November 20, 1919

Mr. W. Van Valkenburgh
184 Rhodes Avenue
New Dorp, S. I.

Dear Van,

I am terribly sorry that I am not able to see you once more before departing on my tour, but I console myself with the hope that I may remain in New York during the winter, the Department of "Injustice" willing. Then we will have many chances to get together. Meanwhile, I am leaving your address with Stella, she may have occasion to call on you for an evening's help. I know you will be glad to come.

I was glad to see you and Rita at the dinner. I know how famished you both were for association with kindred spirits. Give my love to her and the children.

I sent a package of statements to your business place yesterday - hope they reached you. If you want more, ask Stella for them.

I am enclosing subscription slips - perhaps you could send some on with a personal note to some of the friends in Schenectady - I do not suppose you know people in this part of the world.

Wish me luck, old man, between the Department of "Injustice", the American Legion and the hundred other raving societies, one takes one's life in one's hand in going on tour.

Affectionately yours,

Emma

BS&AU
12646

Encl.-slips

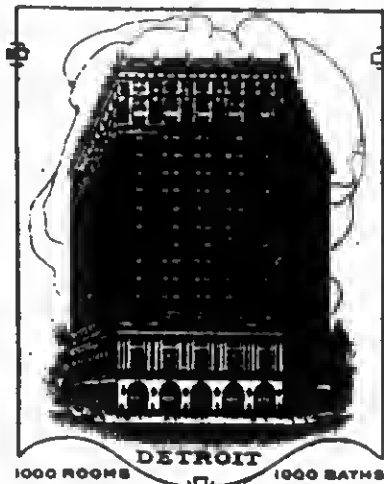
In writing me, enclose letter in another envelope addressed to
Stella - that is the safer way. E. G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 Nov. 24] Detroit, Mich. [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 16 cm.

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HOTELS STATLER

BUFFALO
450 ROOMS-450 BATHS

CLEVELAND
1000 ROOMS-1000 BATHS

DETROIT
1000 ROOMS-1000 BATHS

ST. LOUIS
650 ROOMS-650 BATHS

HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA, New York
2200 ROOMS-2200 BATHS
THE LARGEST HOTEL IN THE WORLD

[1916 Sep?]

This Letter Written at DETROIT

Dear Mr. W. It will do your heart
good to know that A B C & G
were given police protection
in this town. But for the police
like a Legion maniacs would
have made our meeting
impossible. I know you will
have a good laugh over
the protection given us.

If only our people here would
have shown more enterprising
spirit we could have filled
the largest town in the
hall. As it is we had 1500
people & more than 2000
turned away. The spirit
was wonderful. The appeal
for amnesty receipt 509

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 Nov. 24] Detroit, Mich. [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 16 cm.

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besides some pledges.
 I have 2 more meetings
 here, then for Chicago.
 I'd like to be informal
 by the way I want to hear
 from you if I am to hear
 from you. Looked up. I will
 do nothing until you write
 me.

I wonder what success
 you had with Mattie and
 Ludovisky. We expected word
 from you. Ben about West
 When do you go? Needless
 to say, we are eager about
 the plot game.

If only I could make
 a brass country town. Believe
 me, we'd make things
 hum. I may yet do it. I
 will come to it if you do.

Write me to Chicago
 New York Reg. Hotel

Lovefully,
 Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850625631

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 24 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman, Detroit, Mich.] / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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November 24, 1919.

My dear E.G.:-

I leave to-night for Washington re: A.B. and yourself. If anything comes up that you must know immediately, I will wire. If not, I will write on to Chicago. The Judge denied the Raboas Barrus in the Mollie Steiner case. He has taken the Lachowsky case under advisement, and from his statement on the bench, it may be that he will decide that case in our favor, though he was doubtful about the law point, but he said as a matter of humanity he ought to get out until the Mandate comes from the Supreme Court, - but then, what is humanity to law. Nothing else now. Understand that you had a good dinner.

Regards to A.B.

Sincerely yours,

HW/ICW

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The Emma Goldman Papers

860515121

[Letter, 1919 Nov. 26] Detroit [Mich. to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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ALEXANDER BERKMAN

857 BROADWAY
NEW YORK

Detroit. Wed

Dearest Leon.

I did not mean to neglect you, but have been rushed ^{away} minute since we ^{are} ^{ready} Our meetings were ^{themselves} thousands of people ^{gathered} away to the hall packed in the same building so that we were compelled to speak in the same hall. That was last so yesterday. Jewish meeting brought with an equally large audience. To night we will most likely have a large crowd.

We leave for Albany tomorrow. I am sorry to have less time to write to you my dear Leon. Until

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 Nov. 26] Detroit [Mich. to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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When you must be patient,
I suppose you saw in the
papers that Wash has decided
a B's deportation. Mine will
no doubt follow. I only hope
let Alex alone until we hear
from him. He is improving
still, he is not in complete
to go to Deer Island, Alcatraz
or Ellis Island. Let's hope
for the best.

We finished the magazine
stuff. You brought the paper
I only hope you had made
the quantity larger. We have
nothing for tonight. But
we'll get some in Chicago,
some more.

Don isn't a better deal
I have to let you know
we are getting along and can
the meetings have

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860515121

[Letter, 1919 Nov. 26] Detroit [Mich. to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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PERCEE HOPKINS, Chairman

LEONARD D. ABBOTT, Treasurer

M. E. FITZGERALD, Sec'y

[6]

LEAGUE FOR THE AMNESTY OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

857 BROADWAY
NEW YORK

LEGAL ADV. BOARD

ISAAC A. HOUWICK
THEODORE SCHROEDER
HARRY WEISSBERG
BOLTON HALL

PHONE STUYVESANT 673

GEN. ADV. BOARD

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HELEN KELLER
LINCOLN STUFFINS
ALEX COHEN
PERCEE HOPKINS
ROGER N. BALDWIN
MARGARET SANGER
ROSS STURKEY

I will leave nothing un
done to arrange for a stop
over in Albany. The day
of our stay in the "Cell"
landed are really counted. We
must be with those we love
as much as possible and
you are among our dearest
friends.

With love. G.

I am in a new Southern
Hotel. 13-12 W Michigan Blvd

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1919 Nov. 26, Detroit, Mich. [to] Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma]
Goldman.— 2 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

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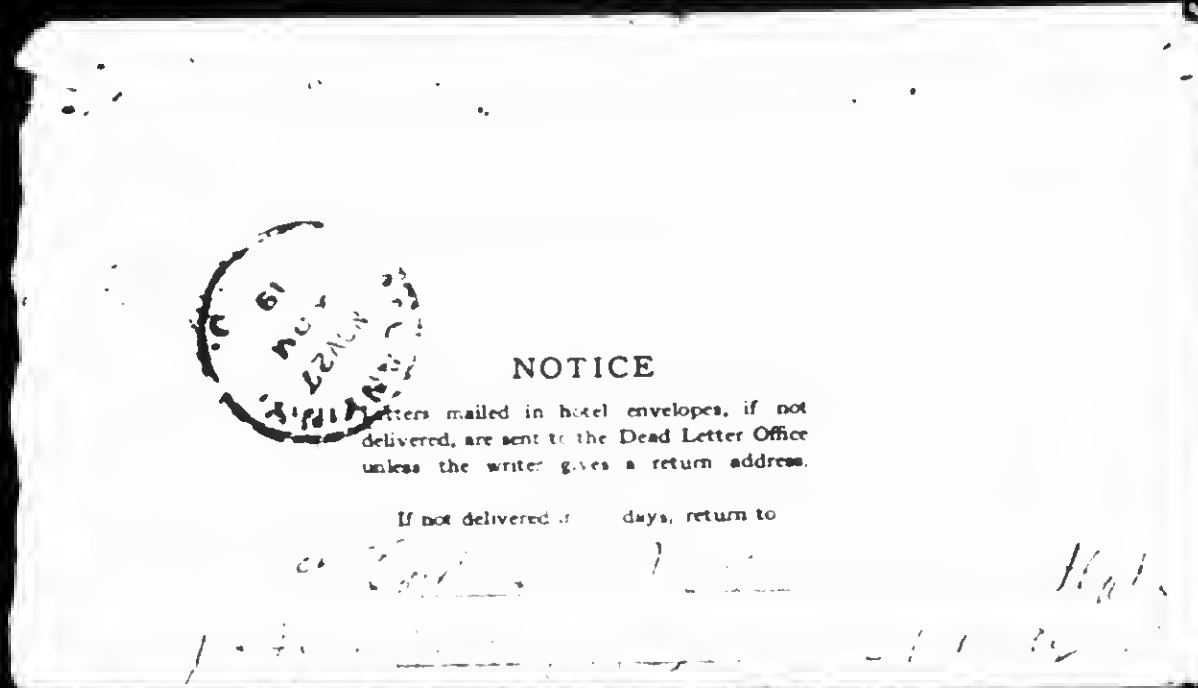


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Goldman.— 2 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]19 Nov. 26, Albany, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, Chicago (government transcript)] / Leon [Malmed]. — 1 p.; 27 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

in re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman
Auditorium meeting.

Leon Malmed, of 121 South Pearl Street, Albany, N.Y., sent the following letter to Emma Goldman, which is on file at this Bureau office:

Nov. 26, 19.
My dear Emma:
I did not have a chance to write to you. My desire was to write you from the very minute I left you on the train. I am all broken up today to to conceive the fact that Sasha will probably have to leave us here? How will I stand it should you have to go...
Emma my dearest, let us hope for the best. I did not get a line from you since you are on the trip. I hope to hear from you while you are in Chicago. Write me when you can. My best wishes to Sasha.
The N.Y. Times is celebrating today about the deportation inasmuch as 2 column boxed item, like a vermin they are in their hatred in comparison with ~~with~~ those that love and admire you. I hope to hear from you this week.
As ever your devoted friend

Leon

Another letter received by Emma Goldman and signed "Loella" reads as follows:

"I am afraid that they will hurry your case along to. They are chiefly now engaged in kicking the dead dog--the Democratic Party--and all this campaign against Howe is simply to discredit the administration and kill the Immigration Department so that the Department of Justice can hold on to their sinecure. Loella."

A paper headed "Frank O'Hare's Bulletin" which evidently is a code to be used between subjects and their correspondents was found in their room, perused, and a copy of the same follows:

*246 W.W.L. Ninn.	*256 T.A.G. Pa.
247 Mrs. E. B. A. Utah	257 Mr. & Mrs. S.C.S. N.Y.
248 Mrs. Rose McC N.Y.	258 P.H.W. Ill.
249 V.D.S. Mass.	259 W.A. California
250 Miss F.H. Ind.	260 J.P.P. W.Va.
251 E.T.S. Wash.	261 L.G.L. Mo.
252 Mrs. A.J.B. N.Y.	262 E.A.K. Iowa
253 Mrs. A.P. MO.	263 E.B. Mo.
254 Miss E.R. Mo.	264 S.S. N.Y.
255 E.D.K. N.Y.	265 Benj. W.D. Md.

A list bearing the following names, and signed Kate (possibly Kate O'Hare) was also found:

William Nee--North West
Walter Cook--Comrade Harwell--Atlanta Ga.
Mary P.M. of Atlanta--Dr. B.
Florent Deschamps of Johnson City, Ill.
Jean Loguet of France.
Dr. Robinson of New York
Mrs. E. B. Donnell of Redley California

Page 2

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 26 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman, Chicago] / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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November 26, 1919.

My dear E.G.:-

I sent you the following telegram to-day.

"Zary Ingels.
661 Seneca Ave..
Detroit, Mich.

Am writing Sally Chicago no call for delivery of our friends as yet was in Washington yesterday home for friend will be Germany or Petrograd steamer not released Luchinsky will be to-day. A.G."

This letter is for you and A.B. of course. I was in Washington all day yesterday on your matter and that of A.B.'s. The Department there is absolutely panic-stricken over the hammering they have been getting from the House of Representatives and the Senate. We were at a consultation with Connolly himself, Abernethy, Acting Secretary of Labor and Post, First Assistant Secretary of Labor. In reference to A.B., of course, they consider the matter closed. My request was that they give me assurance that he would not be sent to the Whiteguard or any other place where his life would be in danger. They said he would not be sent to any place where his life was in danger and that as a matter of fact, though they cannot send anyone to Russia at the present time, they may be able to send people to Germany. In which event as per our request, he would be sent to Germany. Abernethy was very much "hot up" over the fact that you were both out speaking and he said as soon as the final decision is made, that I would be called upon to produce him, and that he would be held without bail pending deportation, and of course, that may be within the next few days that he will be called for. I denied their right to hold anyone without bail where they cannot actually deport. I also asked that when they have finally determined exactly what they want to do, they should wire me before they put that determination into execution, and I am to send that request formally to them. Of course, if he is taken into custody and held pending deportation, we could take up with the Department, the proposition of fixing bail or in refusing to do that, we can obtain a writ of Habeas Corpus or in the worst case, on the broad proposition that aliens cannot be indefinitely held without fixing bail awaiting deportation, and in addition that people cannot be deported for holding opinions, which latter ground is the ground in the Lopez case, and Lopez is out on bail pending appeal to the United States Supreme Court, having lost in the lower court and in the Circuit Court of Appeals.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 26 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman, Chicago] / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 4 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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[Nov. 26, 1919]

-2-

Of course, whether the Court would fix bail is something that you can decide as well as I. They have, at least in the past.

In the course of the 3 or 4 hours discussion with information for lunch and allowance of time for the new trial, to consult between themselves, the argument got heated, and Post said that under this law even Tolstoy himself would have to be deported, and I insisted they leave Tolstoy, and not substitute Jesus Christ, and that no would have his hand in the deportation. As a matter of fact, the immigration bill is now no more so so when the Russians or others would be deported, as you or I. It is a matter for the State Department, and I am not so sure that they even know. The favored havey now is not particularly on your account, but as I said because of the law, the law is getting so bad because it is proposed to practically legislate the entire Bureau of Immigration out of office, so that if deportations are concerned and turn it over to the Department of Justice. Post, of course, keeps reiterating that it is not up to them and that if there is any relief outside of the legislature, it is in the courts.

Was it not in that way that Pilot worked his hands of the crucifixion of Christ? The truth is, we are of the opinion that there was no authority in law to allow P.S. to select his own port, as, if he did, he would be able to come back into the United States without violating the law. That is the situation in short.

next Strange to relate, the Diabolo case, where the Italian after being paroled, immediately disappeared, is working in every lurid way. It is one of the things that prevents them from giving us any liberty. Seminetti says that he can stand all the hammering in the Diabolo case where on the instilling of Barker, he paroled him without bail, as the only place where his name is weak, and it almost seemed to me as if he was in tears over it. Diabolo had said that he had no objection to deportation, and when I had him case dismissed in the United States District Court, in which he might have gotten a year, his bond having been released in that court, instead of appearing for deportation, he disappeared. Now, for his sin, we have to be met time and again with all kinds of difficulties. They also want me to finish up in your case, but I said I would not and could not, — that I wanted a month to submit my additional evidence re your citizenship and that if they don't desire to let me leave it, I would have nothing to do with their proceedings, — that I refused to submit a brief. For the same hurried desire, for the same public opinion, public clamoring, and the hammering of Congress, they wanted to close your hearing. I take it that the Detroit and Chicago papers will carry the story as carried in New York. The New York Times carried on the front page, the enclosure.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 26 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman, Chicago] / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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[Nov. 26, 1919]

-2-

Of course, your large successful meetings will only aggravate the situation. Hoover, of the Department of Justice was flitting around in and out. I am glad that you have had such a tremendous success. If we only had your citizenship straightened out, I knew that tremendous work could be done for amnesty and for change of conditions in jails. Judge Hand denied the Habeas Corpus in the Hollic Fisker case on the ground that it was not the United States who was demanding her, and in addition, that they would not interfere, and that the only proper remedy is appeal in the State Court. Even though admitting that in the case of Judge Field where a Marshal shot Judge Field, and the State attempted to hold the Marshal for murder, the United States Supreme Court intervened, and Judge Hand's reply was: "Well the opinion seems to ~~say~~ ^{be} but in that case the judges merely stuck together on behalf of one of their own, Judge Field, whose life was ~~sought~~ ^{lost}."

There is also a question in my mind just now, whether it is not as well to have Hollic stay in Blackwell's rather than have her sent to Jefferson City, if we can have our hands well used. That is a matter we can consider when the mandate comes down. In the case of Mackowsky Judge Hand handed down a wisely-considered decision to-day in which he said that if Ellis Island did not release him by Friday, he would order his release as it seemed that they had plenty of time to decide the matter, and that if they did not decide by Friday, it would be apparent that my contention that they were merely holding him in custody until the mandate of the Supreme Court came down, was correct and therefore he would be entitled to his release.

To-morrow is Thanksgiving Day and what we have to be thankful for, I do not know, except here and there some human minds that refuse to be absolutely obliterated by force, by prisons, by beatings or by killing. To-morrow being Thanksgiving Day, and I and someone having collected the \$1,000, I sent Jerome down this morning in the hope that we may be able to get him out to-day. I have also taken up his matter in Washington, insisting that they order his release. So between Washington ordering his release and the sending down of \$1,000 in Liberty Bonds, and the Habeas Corpus, Mackowsky ought to be out either to-day or Friday at the latest. We got to have not heard from Washington in reference to the issuance of the mandate. I suppose we will be notified when it actually gets here.

It seems funny, your meeting, getting police protection, but if the stupid officials of the United States would only get some brains, they would know that if they let the American Legion organization get rampant, they would kill all of us, because we

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 26 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman, Chicago] / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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[Nov. 26, 1919]

-4-

would then have a new power.

I wrote you a letter to Detroit, re **K**. I hardly think it would do any good and would absolutely close the door both in this country or in Europe, for the other outlet. I received a letter from Mr. Polk, copy of which I enclose herewith, apropos to your idea of the cross-country tour. We can consider that when you get here. I am sending a copy of this letter also c/o C.V. Cook.

Sincerely,

H.W.

P.S. The Survey Magazine, November 22, Section I, has spread outside on the cover in big letters "JUDGES ARE IN OPINI H", and reprints the entire opinion of Judge Holmes, and also has a fine editorial on it. The Tribune this morning has an editorial against us on the Abrams case.

H.W.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890124001

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 27 [Chicago to] Henry Montgomery, Detroit, Mich. [government transcript] / Emma [Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Edw. J. Brennan
DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT

100 FEDERAL BUILDING
TELEPHONE HARRISON 4700

United States Department of Justice Bureau of Investigation OFFICE OF DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT CHICAGO

Nov. 28, 1919.

MR. A. L. BARKY,
P.O. Box 881,
Detroit, Mich.

Dear Sir:

RE: EMMA GOLDMAN

The above mentioned subject is under surveillance of agents of this office and last evening she caused a telegram to be transmitted by the Western Union Telegraph Co. which reads as follows:

Nov. 27, 1919.

Henry Montgomery,
114 Tyler Ave., Highland Park,
Detroit, Mich.

Arrived safely. Located New Southern Hotel. Very anxious about the boys we discussed knew you are busy moving but remember how important the matter is will await anxiously result of your efforts get in touch with Margolin through Nelson his presence here Monday indispensable let him try his best love E (Emma)

Very truly yours,

Edw. J. Brennan
Division Superintendent.

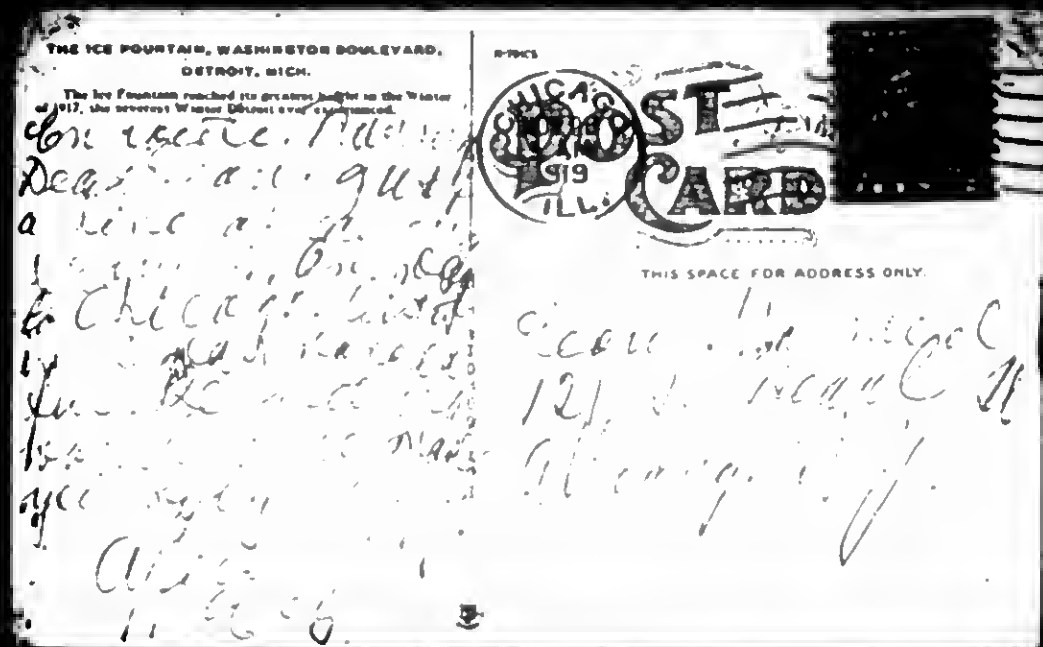
RJA/ID

Copy to Chief for the attention MR. HOOVER.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1919 Nov. 28, Chicago [to] Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 8 × 12 cm.
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The Emma Goldman Papers

890124004

[Letter, 1919 Nov. 29, Chicago to Stella] Ballantine, New York [government transcript] / E[mma Goldman and] Alexander [Berkman]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 17 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

REPORT MADE AT: A. H. Louis	PLACE WHERE MADE: Chicago, Ill.	DATE WHEN MADE: Dec. 1, 1919	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 11/28;
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR RAISON D'ETRE UNDER INVESTIGATION: IN re: Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman Anarchist Matter.			
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF LABOR, CHARGES AND ACCUSATIONS OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE.		DATE WHEN MADE: DEC 6 1919 Noted	
AT CHICAGO:			
<p>At a meeting held at Carmen's Hall, Chicago, on Nov. 29, 1919, at which both subjects addressed an audience of approximately 4500 people, and at which an admission fee of \$.50 was charged, a collection was made which together with the admission fee, netted about \$5,000.00. In company with Agents Allen, Spolansky, and Leeb, I attended the affair and for a report on the radical parts of the speeches delivered, reference is made to Agent Allen's report for Nov. 29th, 1919. Both subjects were very mild in their lecture for which they chose as their topic "Our prison experiences".</p> <p>The following telegrams were received by subjects this day:</p> <p>"Detroit Michigan. It is a physical impossibility to be in Chicago Saturday. Jake." (Possibly Jake Margolis)</p> <p>A night letter sent to Mrs. E. J. Ballantine, 36 Grove St., New York, after the Carmen's Hall meeting follows:</p> <p>"First affair tonight very large and enthusiastic. All went well. Second meeting tomorrow. Received news of decision in case of E (Emma) Expect further details from E. W. Monday. Don't worry. Give P. this message. Feeling well. Think of her. With love. E & S (Emma and Sasha) (Sasha is Russian for Alexander.)</p> <p>On Nov. 30th subjects held an overflow meeting at the West Side Auditorium, the receipts for tickets and collection amounting to close to \$1,000.00. For report of speeches of both subjects see Employee Payreanin's report for Nov. 30, 1919.</p> <p>At 12:40 A.M. the following telegram from New York was received by Berkman:</p> <p>"Sent thousand pamphlets yesterday. Also Abrams matter. Hope all is well. Think you should return after the dinner. (Dinner is held Dec. 1, 1919) My arrangements for trip must be</p>			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington Chicago E		ANALYST: JEB P.L.	

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram, 1919 Nov. 29] Detroit, Mich. [to Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Chicago (government transcript)] / Ja[cob Margolis]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 17 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

REPORT MADE BY: A. H. Loula	PLACE WHERE MADE: Chicago, Ill.	DATE WHEN MADE: Dec. 1, 1919	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 11/28;
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE (RECORDS ON BASIS OF ACTING UNDER INVESTIGATION): In re: Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman Anarchist Matter.			
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF LABOR, TRADE AND COMMERCE OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;"> RADICAL DEC 8 1919 Noted F.D.G. </div>	
AT CHICAGO:			
<p>At a meeting held at Carmen's Hall, Chicago, on Nov. 29, 1919, at which both subjects addressed an audience of approximately 4500 people, and at which an admission fee of \$.50 was charged, a collection was made which together with the admission fee, netted about \$5,000.00. In company with Agents Allen, Spolaneky, and Leobl, I attended the affair and for a report on the radical parts of the speeches delivered, reference is made to Agent Allen's report for Nov. 29th, 1919. Both subjects were very mild in their lecture for which they chose as their topic "Our prison experiences".</p> <p>The following telegrams were received by subjects this day:</p> <p>"Detroit Michigan. It is a physical impossibility to be in Chicago Saturday. Jake." (Possibly Jake Margolis)</p> <p>A night letter sent to Mrs. E. J. Ballentine, 36 Grove St., New York, after the Carmen's Hall meeting follows:</p> <p>"First affair tonight very large and enthusiastic. All went well. Second meeting tomorrow. Received news of decision in case of E (Emma) Expect further details from H. W. Monday. Don't worry. Give P. this message. Feeling well. Think of her. With love. E & S (Emma and Sasha) (Sasha is Russian for Alexander.)</p> <p>On Nov. 30th subjects held an overflow meeting at the West Side Auditorium, the receipts for tickets and collection amounting to close to \$1,000.00. For report of speeches of both subjects see Employee Payrenn's report for Nov. 30, 1919.</p> <p>At 12:40 A.M. the following telegram from New York was received by Berkman:</p> <p>"Sent thousand pamphlets yesterday. Also Abrams matter. Hope all is well. Think you should return after the dinner. (Dinner is held Dec. 1, 1919) My arrangements for trip must be</p>			
COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington Chicago		FILE: JMS F.I.	

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 29 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman] and A[lexander] B[erkman], Chicago (fragment) / [Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

COPY

November 29, 1919.

My dear E.G. and A.B.:

I suppose by the time this letter reaches you, you will have gotten my full letter sent to Chicago. As I stated to you, your going to Germany or Petrograd, was stated to me in consultation with Louis F. Post, Abercrombie and Caminetti, all at the same time. The conversations were, of course, verbal, but very definite. Of course, I appreciate your doubt, unless it is in black and white, and in this mail I am writing again for such definite assurance in black and white, as I have not received the same, for which I wrote them from New York, after my consultation, reviewing my request.

As far as Petrograd is concerned, just now there is no recognition of that Government and Immigration Officials just now know no more what the State Department will do on the matter, than you or I. A. Caminetti did say however, that he thought the arrangement might be made to deliver you and others to Germany. They state specifically that they would not send you anywhere where your life would be in danger, and that that was very definite also not only in this case but also in the question of the Mexicans and between Villa and the Carranza, so that it may be that the Immigration Officials have some hope of making an arrangement to send the Russians to Germany.

In the Lachowsky case, the Judge said that unless they proceed with the deportation in his case, he would order him released on my Writ of Habeas Corpus, and that any excuse about time would not be taken. That they have got to close the hearing and issue a warrant of deportation. Naturally they telephoned Washington and they sent a warrant of deportation which arrived before Friday. Thought I submitted an affidavit questioning the good faith of it, and that they did not intend to deport him, yet the Court held that it was not for him to question the good faith of another arm of the Government and dismissed the Writ. I had another writ, of course, in my pocket and immediately, — it being based on the proposition that the Government has no right to deport Lachowsky, merely because he is an anarchist, etc., etc., various grounds, and I asked the Court to dismiss that Writ that I had just handed up which he did, and I then argued that Lachowsky must be admitted to bail pending appeal under various decisions, etc., and he fixed bail at \$1,000 on the proposition of my proceeding immediately with the filing of the appeal papers. I went back to the office and drew up my papers on appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals, and got Judge Hand to sign them, and in said papers as in your case, before

[one page only]

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 29, Chicago [to] Leon Malméd, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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HOTEL NEW SOUTHERN

ABSOLUTELY FIREPROOF
CIRCULATING ICE WATER

2 BLOCKS FROM COLOSSEUM
1 BLOCK SOUTH I.C. STATION
MICHIGAN BOULEVARD
AND 13TH ST.



300 ROOMS
200 ROOMS WITH PRIVATE BATH
@ \$1.50 PER DAY AND UP
100 ROOMS WITHOUT BATH
@ \$1.00 PER DAY AND UP

CHICAGO, Nov. 29th 1919

Leon Malméd,
121 So. Pearl St.,
Albany, N. Y.

Dear Leon:

I received your letter addressed to the Southern Hotel and the one correctly addressed safely. I am glad that my letter reached you. I knew you would be worried, but it was utterly impossible for me to write sooner while I was in Detroit. Here, too, I am busy with a thousand things, added to which is a swollen foot and leg which has been bothering me ever since I left New York and which has gotten worse since I reached Chicago, so much so that I am laid up in bed now and haven't any idea how I will stand up before the audience tonight. I can't imagine what it is except the result of the sins of twenty months' taskmaking at that terrible machine in Jefferson.

The last meeting in Detroit was as wonderful as the first and more so. Here, too, we are sure to have tremendous audiences if only the hysterical Legionists will not attempt to break up the meetings. We are not so fortunate here as we were in Detroit in having the support of an intelligent commissioner of safety, although the police in this city have no desire to interfere. Neither will they protect the meetings if the American Legion outfit and the Dept. of Justice men should attempt any trouble. However, we will cross that bridge when we get there.

Well, our boy's days in America are numbered. In fact, we expect a demand for him almost any hour. It would not be so terrible if we were not concerned with the danger of the powers that be insisting that Sasha be kept in Ellis Island without bail. That would indeed be awful, in view of the fact that there is no telling how long it will take before they will be able to send

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Nov. 29, Chicago [to] Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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(L. M. #2)

people away. If only S. were not in such poor physical condition, but while he has picked up wonderfully since he left NY, he is far from well. Then, too, the conditions on Ellis Island now are most appalling, so if he is compelled to remain there it will mean a continuation of the misery he went through in Arlanta. You can well imagine how I feel about it. There is one thing we must do and that is to begin equipping S. with all he needs to face life in a famine-stricken country. With shoes in Russia costing hundreds of roubles and no food to be had for love or money, it is necessary to send him away with a lot of things which will endure the journey and which he will be able to use when he gets to his destination. Among these things I would like to have a trunk-full of canned goods. I want you to help me with that, since you can get everything at cost price. Let me know whether you get your things in NY, or whether they have to be sent to NY. I am enclosing a list of things that I want AB to have and you can add whatever you think will stand a sea voyage. While he may not be shipped out within the next week, still we should be ready. Some of our comrades here are going to rig him out with a couple of suits and possibly an extra overcoat. As a matter of fact, he ought to have a fur coat, but I may get the Furriers Union, where AB is well known and loved, to supply him with that. If we cannot save him from being immediately deported, we ought at least to make his trip as comfortable and as joyous as we can. I know that you, dear old pal, will be glad to help with that to the best of your ability.

As to my own case, I too am expecting the decision within the next week or two. Of course, I may begin the fight on the grounds of citizenship, but frankly I am not going into it with much eagerness. I feel that I ought to go with Berkman when he is deported. It seems so cruel to have stood in the same terrible battle for thirty years and then to have him shoved out alone when he is really too ill for a long journey. Then, too, I haven't much hope of the success of my fight. In fact, I know that in the end I will have to go. It may only be a question of a few months stay here. I will know more definitely when I get back to NY as to what I am going to do.

Better not count on us for the 10th, as we may not leave here until then. Besides, if there is a demand for AB he will have to go right on to NY and I will have to follow him without any stop just as soon as I am through with the meetings here. If I can at all manage, I will arrange to have a few

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hours, but don't count on our staying over night. Much as I want to be with you, it is house making plans for people whose days and hours are fast coming to a close, but of course, dear, you can always arrange to come to NY I really feel that we will get more out of seeing each other there than in Albany. I will keep you posted as to the success of the meetings and you can reach me here at this hotel.

Affectionately,

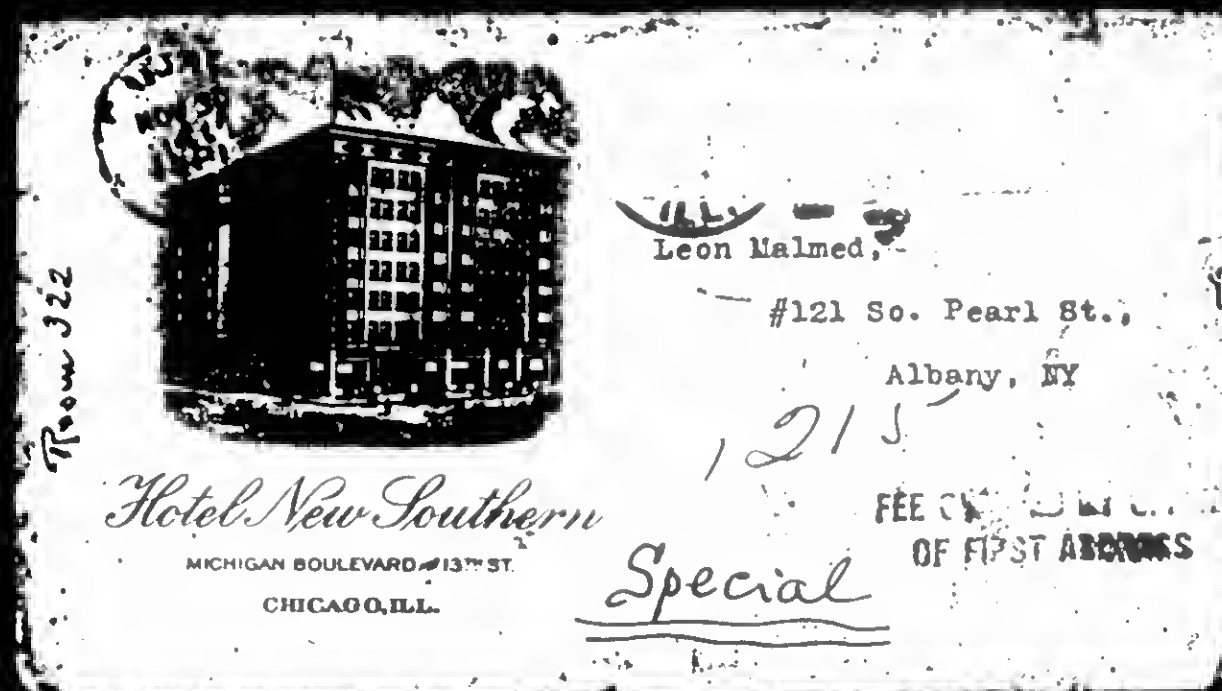
Dearest. The decision in
my case has come, and
I have no idea
what the result will be.
We may be called to
leave the country.
I am very anxious to
know the result.
I am very anxious to
know the result.
I am very anxious to
know the result.

69

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1919 Nov. 30, Chicago [to] Leon Malmé, Albany N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 Dec. 7 to Emma Goldman, Chicago (government transcript)] / Loella.
 - 1 p.; 26 x 18 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

1. Re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman

Auditorium meeting.

Leon Walwed, of 121 South Pearl Street, Albany, N.Y., sent the following letter to Emma Goldman, which is on file at this Bureau office:

Nov. 26, 19.
 "My dear Emma:
 I did not have a chance to write to you, my desire was to write you from the very minute I left you on the train.
 I am all broken up today to conceive the fact that Sasha will probably have to leave us here? How will I stand it should you have to go...
 Emma my dearest, let us hope for the best.
 I did not get a line from you since you are on the trip.
 I hope to hear from you while you are in Chicago.
 Write me when you can.
 My best wishes to Sasha.
 The N.Y. Times is celebrating today about the deportation in a 2 column boxed item, like a worm in they are in their hatred in comparison with those that love and admire you.
 I hope to hear from you this week.
 As ever your devoted friend
 Leon"

Another letter received by Emma Goldman and signed "Loella" reads as follows:

"I am afraid that they will hurry your case along to. They are chiefly now engaged in kicking the dead dog--the Democratic Party--and all this campaign against Howe is simply to discredit the administration and kill the Immigration Department so that the Department of Justice can hold on to their sinecures. Loella."

A paper headed "Frank O'Hare's Bulletin" which evidently is a code to be used between subjects and their correspondents was found in their room, perused, and a copy of the same follows:

*246 W.W.L. Minn.	*256 T.A.G. Pa.
247 Mrs. E. B. A. Utah	257 Mr. & Mrs. S.C.S. N.M.
248 Mrs. Rose McG N.Y.	258 F.H.W. Ill.
249 V.D.S. Mass.	259 W.A. California
250 Miss F.H. Ind.	260 J.F.P. W.Va.
251 R.T.S. Wash.	261 L.G.L. Mo.
252 Mrs. A.J.B. N.Y.	262 E.A.K. Iowa
253 Mrs. A.P. MO.	263 H.B. Mo.
254 Miss E.R. Mo.	264 S.S. N.Y.
255 E.D.K. N.Y.	265 Benj. W.D. Md.

A list bearing the following names, and signed Kate (possibly Kate O'Hare) was also found:

William Moe--North West
 Walter Cook--Comrade Harwell--Atlanta Ga.
 Mary P.M. of Atlanta--Dr. B.
 Florent Deschamps of Johnson City, Ill.
 Jean Loguet of France.
 Dr. Robinson of New York
 Mrs. E. B. Donnell of Reedley California

Page 2


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The Emma Goldman Papers

850625636

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 1, Chicago [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / E[mma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 18 × 22 cm.

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CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL	WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM	CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message		 NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT	Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue		Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	White		Night Message	White
Night Letter	N L		Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

RECEIVED AT

NOV 30 11 50 AM '19
 CHICAGO ILL TO
 HARRY WEINBERGER
 261 BROADWAY NEW YORK NY

1919 DEC 1 5 43

SUNDAYING NO WORD FROM YOU HAVE NOT RECEIVED ON NEXT SENT IN BY CASE
 HARRY WEINBERGER WITHIN A FEW DAYS ADVISE ME BY LETTER WITH NOTION I AM D
 SETTING THIS AFTERNOON AFFAIRS VERY SATISFACTORY WITHOUT ITSELF FOR LONG
 NEXT NO DAY TO LAST WITH JUST RECEIVED SO CANNOT EXPRESS WITH HOLD

Emma Goldman
to Harry Weinberger
400 Broadway New York
12/1/19

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890124006

[Letter, 1919 Dec. 1, Chicago to] Harry Weinberger, New York [government transcript] / E[mma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 17 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

IN RE: Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman

made with you. Love. P."

At 1:15 A.M. Emma Goldman caused the following night message to be sent to Harry Weinberger, 261 Broadway, New York:

"Surprised no word from you. Have you decided on next step in my case. May be necessary within a few days. Advise me by return wire. Notify P and Stella (probably Stella Cosenza) this afternoon affair very satisfactory. Expect to leave for home next Monday. P.S. wire just received. S (Sasha) cannot return till Monday. H."

The following wire, dated Nov. 30th, signed P addressed to Berkman from N. Y. was received:

"Anxious for wire stating when you are coming."

Cassius Cook, Dr. Ben Reitman, Dr. Nathanson, H. Austin Symonds, and Leon Green alias Butewsky, were very prominent in the affairs of subjects.

Cook was busily engaged in arranging for the sale of anarchist literature written by subjects, and in the sale of tickets for the monster banquet to be held on Dec. 1st at the Hotel Morrison in their honor, and also acted as chairman of the meeting held on Nov. 30th at the West Side Auditorium.

Ben Reitman, physician attending both subjects, has devoted almost all of his time since subjects' arrival, in private conferences with them and in helping about the meeting halls. Reitman signed the contract for the rent of the Argyre Grand Theater meeting which was later cancelled.

Dr. Nathanson, Chicago citizen, whose sole ambition is to become a martyr to the cause of radicalism, and who on many occasions, while on the public platform has defied the local police to arrest him, rented the West Side Auditorium for Goldman meetings for Dec. 3, 5, and 7; and makes the plea for donations at the various meetings.

Leon Green, alias Butewsky, recently of Seattle, but now residing in Chicago for the past few months, and his wife, are very active in the meetings, introducing lesser radical lights to Goldman and Berkman. Green signed the contract for the Carmen's
Page 2

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850625634

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 1 [New York to] Emma Goldman, Chicago / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 19 x 21 cm.

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POSTAL TELEGRAPH — COMMERCIAL CABLES

CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED

FAST DAY TELEGRAM	<input type="checkbox"/>
NIGHT TELEGRAM	<input type="checkbox"/>
NIGHT LETTERGRAM	<input type="checkbox"/>

THE SENDER MUST MARK AN X OPPOSITE THE CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED; OTHERWISE THE TELEGRAM WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FAST DAY TELEGRAM.

TELEGRAM

THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY [INCORPORATED]
TRANSMITS AND DELIVERS THIS MESSAGE SUBJECT TO THE
TERMS AND CONDITIONS PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THIS BLANK.

RECEIVER'S NUMBER

CHECK

TIME FILED

SEND the following Telegram subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

Form 3

December 1st, 1919.

Emma Goldman,
c/o New Southern Hotel,
Chicago, Ill.

*Western Union
Rush*

(*revised*) No official word from Washington on decisions. No call for production of both. Have asked for further Washington interview before they put decision into execution. No word received however.

HARRY WEINBERGER.

The Emma Goldman Papers

850625057

[Telegram, 1919 Dec. 27 New York to] Emma Goldman, Chicago / Stella [Ballantine] and [Eleanor] Fitzgerald]. — 1 p. ; 18 x 21 cm.

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POSTAL TELEGRAPH — COMMERCIAL CABLES		CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT							
CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">FAST DAY TELEGRAM</td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>NIGHT TELEGRAM</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>NIGHT LETTERGRAM</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> <p><small>THE SENDER MUST MARK AN X OPPOSITE THE CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED; OTHERWISE THE TELEGRAM WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FAST DAY TELEGRAM.</small></p>		FAST DAY TELEGRAM		NIGHT TELEGRAM		NIGHT LETTERGRAM		<h2 style="margin: 0;">TELEGRAM</h2> <p>THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY (INCORPORATED) TRANSMITS AND DELIVERS THIS MESSAGE SUBJECT TO THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THIS BLANK.</p>	
FAST DAY TELEGRAM									
NIGHT TELEGRAM									
NIGHT LETTERGRAM									
		<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="height: 20px;">RECEIVER'S NUMBER</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="height: 20px;">CHECK</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="height: 20px;">TIME FILED</td> </tr> </table>		RECEIVER'S NUMBER	CHECK	TIME FILED			
RECEIVER'S NUMBER									
CHECK									
TIME FILED									

SEND the following Telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

[1919 Dec. 27]

112.76

25

137.76

50

Emma Goldman
New Southern Hotel
Michigan Boul and 13th St/
Chicago, Ill.

Very unwise ~~for~~ to delay leaving Chicago.
No assurance that you will be allowed off the Island.
You should ~~at least~~ one day before going ~~to Island~~. Love.

(have)

Stella and F.

The Emma Goldman Papers

850625637

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2, Chicago [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / E[mma Goldman] and [Alexander Berkman].— 1 p. ; 17 x 22 cm.
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 Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	DL
Day Letter	DL
Night Message	NL
Night Letter	NL

If none of these three symbols appears after the check, number of words in this message. Otherwise the character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

68
 WORTH 1067

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	DL
Day Letter	DL
Night Message	NL
Night Letter	NL

If none of these three symbols appears after the check, number of words in this message. Otherwise the character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

RECEIVED AT

P34CH 32

RA CHICAGO ILLS 1155A 2

HARRY WEINBERGER

0228

ATTY 261 BROADWAY NEWYORK NY

BOTH YOUR WIRES JUST RECEIVED WILL RETURN ON TIME WILL WIRE LATER
 EXACT HOUR GET READY NECESSARY STEPS PHONE THIS TO STELLA AND P
 B ARRIVES WEDNESDAY EVENING SEVEN THIRTY TRAIN FORTY

E AND S.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2 [New York to] Emma Goldman, Chicago / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 19 × 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH — COMMERCIAL CABLES	
CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRES. GENL.	
TELEGRAM	
THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY [INCORPORATED] TRANSMITS AND DELIVERS THIS MESSAGE SUBJECT TO THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THIS BLANK.	
CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	RECEIVER'S NUMBER
FAST DAY TELEGRAM	
NIGHT TELEGRAM	
NIGHT LETTERGRAM	
THE SENDER MUST MARK AN X OPPOSITE THE CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED; OTHERWISE THE TELEGRAM WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FAST DAY TELEGRAM.	
CHECK	
TIME FILED	

SEND the following Telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

Rush.

Form 3

WESTERN UNION

December 2, 1919.

Emma Goldman,
c/o New Southern Hotel,
Chicago, Ill.

Received telegram from Washington to
and A.B.
produce you not later than twelve noon Friday December fifth stop
Have wired asking time to December tenth and asked to be advised
by wire if Department agrees stop Congressional Committee
pressing Department Expect no extension.

HARRY WEINBERGER.

The Emma Goldman Papers

850625638

[Telegram] 1919 Dec. 2 [New York to] Emma Goldman, Chicago / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 19 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH — COMMERCIAL CABLES		CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT	
CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED <input type="checkbox"/> FAST DAY TELEGRAM <input type="checkbox"/> NIGHT TELEGRAM <input type="checkbox"/> NIGHT LETTERGRAM <small>THE SENDER MUST MARK AN X OPPOSITE THE CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED; OTHERWISE THE TELEGRAM WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FAST DAY TELEGRAM.</small>	<h2 style="margin: 0;">TELEGRAM</h2>	RECEIVER'S NUMBER <hr/> CHECK <hr/> TIME FILED <hr/>	
THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY (INCORPORATED) TRANSMITS AND DELIVERS THIS MESSAGE SUBJECT TO THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THIS BLANK.			

SEND the following Telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.
Form 1

December 2nd, 1919.

WESTERN UNION.
 RUSH.

Emma Goldman,
 c/o New Southern Hotel,
 Chicago, ILL.

Government refuses extra time *period stop*

You and ^{*absolutely*} B must be in New York before Friday noon *period stop*

Wire me *time of arrival*

HARRY WEINBERGER.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 3, Chicago [to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

HOTEL NEW SOUTHERN

ABSOLUTELY FIREPROOF.
CIRCULATING ICE WATER.
2 BLOCKS FROM COLISEUM
1 BLOCK SOUTH I.C. STATION
MICHIGAN BOULEVARD
AND 13TH ST.



300 ROOMS
200 ROOMS WITH PRIVATE BATH
@ \$1.25 PER DAY AND UP.
100 ROOMS WITHOUT BATH
@ \$1.00 PER DAY AND UP.

CHICAGO. Dec. 3, 1919.

Dearest Leon:-

I got your sweet wire and your note of the 1st together this morning. It is just like you, devoted friend, to write me that all will be arranged regarding the food stuff I wrote you about. Dear old boy, - I am afraid you will have to double the amount since I too will have to go very soon. I haven't the time to go into a lengthy letter tonight. It is already late and I must prepare for my last meeting tonight which may also prove to be the last meeting in America.

A. B. has already gone to N. Y., and I stayed over because I wanted to have a chance to speak to the people of the city once more. Now dear Leon, - you will forgive me, I am sure, when I tell you that it is physically impossible for me to stop off in Albany. Believe me, dear heart, it is as bitter a disappointment to me as it will prove to you, but I have not a minute to lose. The truth is, I am taking terrible chances in staying over until tomorrow morning. I am returning to N. Y. on the Century Limited, which will pass Albany at 6 in the morning and which makes it impossible for me to even see you at the depot. I will get into N. Y. 9:40 A.M., and then will have to go directly to Ellis Island. There is no doubt but that the Immigration authorities will try their damnest to keep A. B. and myself without bail until they can deport us, and heaven only knows when that will be. I have no hope whatever of being able to get our boy out on a writ which would admit him to bail, tho' there is just a bare possibility.

In my own case, I am a little bit more hopeful because if I make the fight on the grounds of citizenship, it must go to the courts, and they must admit it to bail, but it will probably take a week at least to make them consent, - and as Ellis Island is now as horrid a prison as Atlanta and Jefferson City, we are not going to have a very comfortable time there. Well, it can not be helped, - at least, we have had the satisfaction of two wonderful weeks. Our meetings in Detroit and Chicago were among the most inspiring in our public career, so we are not worrying about our trip. And tonight is the last meeting. I know it will be a banner night. I wish so much you could be with us.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 3, Chicago [to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

-2-

I will have Stella wire you what happens on Friday if I am detained on Ellis Island. If I can get out on bail the same day, I will wire you myself. Anyway I am hoping to see you soon. I must get some time to get my clothes for Russia. My coat is wonderful but I discovered it is not even warm enough for Chicago climate, let alone for Russia, so I will have to get very warm underwear, a good sweater, a warm bath-robe, and a lot of other woollen things and shoes, - things that can not be gotten for any amount of money. I wish you could be in N. Y. with me to help with the shopping. I know you would like that very much. I will also need a decent hand-bag, but I may get that from little Bennie Capes. Anyway, dear, I will write you again soon even if I must do it from Ellis Island. Should the worst come to the worst, and I am prevented from seeing you again before I am deported I know we will meet in our beloved Matuehka, Russia.

Affectionately,

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1919 Dec. 3, Chicago [to] Leon Malméd, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma] Goldman. — 2 p. ; 8 × 14 cm.

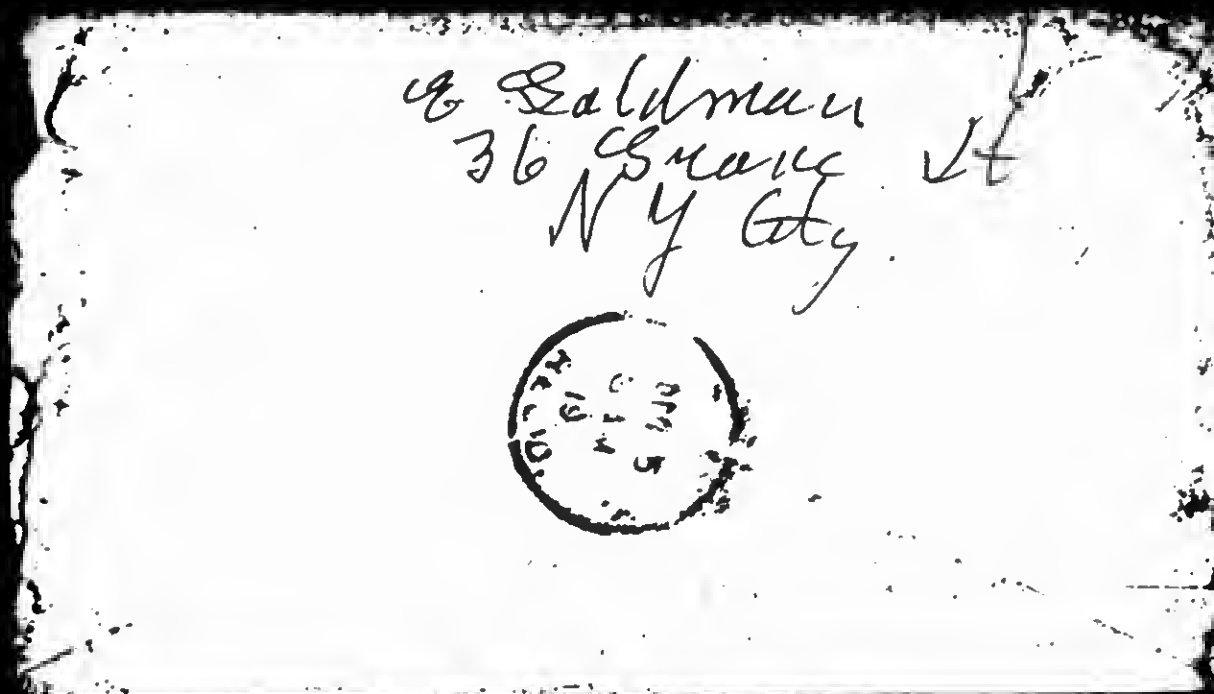
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1919 Dec. 3, Chicago [to] Leon Malmé, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma]
Goldman. — 2 p. ; 8 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.



The Emma Goldman Papers

850625639


[Telegram, 1919 Dec. 4] Chicago [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / E[mma] G[oldman].— 1 p. ; 16 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

CLASS OF SERVICE		SYMBOL
Day Message		
Day Letter	Blue	
Night Message	Blue	
Night Letter	N L	

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

WESTERN UNION



TELEGRAM

4 PM 7 30

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVED AT
OTTON 7

BY CHICAGO 115 350A 3

HARRY WEINBERGER

611 301 BROADWAY NEWYORK NY

LEAVE ON TWENTIETH CENTURY AT NOON TODAY

E G.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

850625640

[Telegram, 1919 Dec. 4] Toledo, O[hio to] Harry Weinberger, New York / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 16 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	White
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	White
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

RECEIVED AT

A397X 10

BR TOLEDO O 530P 4

HARRY WEINBERGER

2187

ATTORNEY AT LAW 261 BROADWAY NEWYORK NY

SPEEDING TO NEWYORK ARRVE NINE FORTY IN MORNING MEET ME

EMMA GOLDMAN.

TELEPHONE NO. 1
 TELEPHONE NO. 2
 BY 2187
 ATTORNEY
 DISCUSS

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 between Dec. 5 and 9, Ellis Island, N.Y. to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 21 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

you in court.
However, I will take no chance
last day Monday was in court
We're only a few days away
day a week. I will be in court
I am sure I will be in court
next year, as the 1st of the 11th
1st of the 11th. I had a young
the names as well as I want
to see you. I will be in court
Killy Beck & George & J. Ballou
this week, as they will be in
you will have to pay for
on the 1st of the 11th. I will be in court
you can do it with no expense
Say names are early. Killy
will not mind in court

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 between Dec. 5 and 9, Ellis Island, N.Y. to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 21 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

me
I regretted in that case you all
left a part of the chain of a gift
terribly and not so as you
doubtless, when we were in the
house to go back.
I suppose you have been
doubtless around here, maybe
to get me regged, and really
there is no such date. I
don't forget that I expect to
get that and a report, and up all
is often all not to let you out.
But even if we are the denied
the next mail, it will take
a few days, but we are very
so you will be able to get my
things next week date.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

850625641

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 5 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman] and A[lexander] B[erkman],
Ellis Island, N.Y.] / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

December 5th, 1919.

My dear E.G. and A.B.:-

I suppose by this time you know all about the writ having been granted in both cases, returnable on Monday. Judge Mayer said, "I have before me a writ for one Emma Goldman and one Alexander Berkman. I will sign the writ returnable Monday afternoon at 2 o'clock".

I have insisted that you both be actually in Court at the time of the argument, and will take it up with the District Attorney tomorrow.

I think both of you will have to buy me a dinner. Certainly A. B. will have to buy me a real spread.

I will try to be down on Ellis Island to-morrow to see you both, and it may even be that I will see you before you get this letter. I hope that your night's lodging was comfortable.

Sincerely yours,

LT/ICW

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850702281

[Letter, 1919] Dec. 6, Ellis Island [N.Y. to Harry Weinberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 3 p.; 27 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Ellis Island. Dec 6th

My dear Canseller.

Everything went in such a rush yesterday, we hardly had a moment together. Yet, there are so many things to go over.

I suppose you will bring us in about Monday. I should despise if Judge Mayer were the last report. I suppose he has not yet forgiven me that I am not in his hands.

However, if you do not get us to Court come over anyway. There are a few matters I want to hash up with you.

My cold is pretty bad but nothing very serious. You know how much I believe in medicine. I am sure I will be alright soon. But A & B are suffering from the cold here. But we have written for more clothing so we'll be alright when they arrive.

A & B has picked up since his operation, but he is

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702281

[Letter, 1919] Dec. 6, Ellis Island [N.Y. to Harry Weinberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

still far from well. ^{Dec 6} I
to myself, you know that
I was not the most of the
dentists work, and that
I was to try myself in
the care of the dyedest
in the other matter. I
can't imagine that the
U.S. Government will refuse
me enough time to get
myself in physical con-
dition for a long journey.
Besides my rights of citizen-
ship.

I hope to see you Monday
evening at court or Tuesday
in sending your statement
to the press, do not neglect
the Nation, the New Republic,
the Dial & the Volks Zeitung.
Sincerely,
E. G.

I wish I might see Dr. G.
with you, could you bring
him along. Meantime I
give him a C & C my love.
Please inquire of the Immigration
Dept if my mail is permitted
to take along a supply of
canned goods. Your friend

The Emma Goldman Papers

850702281

[Letter, 1919] Dec. 6, Ellis Island [N.Y. to Harry Weinberger, New York] / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional
Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Leon Malmed who is in
the delicatessen business
can supply us everything
But we want to make
sure that we can take
of our. No use spending
the expense of trouble
otherwise.

cg cg

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 6 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman] and A[lexander] B[erkman], Ellis Island, N.Y.] / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

December 6th., 1919.

My dear E.G. and A.B.:-

Though I cannot get anything out of the Prison Board at Jefferson City in re getting back \$23.10 fare, I took the matter up in Washington. They say that all that is necessary is a receipt by you. They have written Mr. Printer, telling him to either send back my check or send me their check upon obtaining receipt from you for the money.

I enclose herewith receipt which please sign and return. I telephoned Stella to go down to see you this morning, though she could not make the 9 o'clock boat, as I thought I could do more good in my office than even the pleasure of a chat with you, as I wanted to get some law together, attend to mail, etc., and be ready, if necessary, to argue the proposition on Monday. Also handled the Abrams L. and L. bail proposition. Jerome has gone over to see Mollie on Blackwells Island.

I expect to see both you and A.B. in Court on Monday.

Sincerely,

HW/ICW

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[Letter, 1919 Dec. 7 - 8, Ellis Island, N.Y. to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)]

/ E[mma Goldman]. — 6 p. : 26 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

could have paid my equivalent
of course or would have
he made good for me. I would
prefer that. There is if my
of not your card must be
renewed, I can not wear
turn out as I am by the way
make my mother with a
dress of some new material
material. I know they will
be not be out of fashion for
time. I am not sure
like the old one. I am not sure.

~~My dear~~ said something about
 a pretty coat lined with grey.
 Goodbye. Can we could make
 it up for me. I simply must
 keep myself warm the least
 little cold causes severe aching
 pain in my right knee leg
 & foot. If you can not get
 the size in Jersey Blouses per
 days dear little love can make
 them up.

I see my old undershirt is in
bad condition, better get me
3-4 plain wooden undershirts with
long sleeves and ankle length
then same summer, need at a
few pairs without sleeves &
have neck. Of course, you will
pack ~~my~~ all my night gowns

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870921187

[Letter, 1919 Dec. 7 - 8, Ellis Island, N.Y. to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)]
/ E[mma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 26 x 16 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13084
I was my gift one, also silk
Kymonash - the padded app. Ben
got me a good quality blanket
one, not so gaudy, but real
woolen stuff. One at two pairs
of bed sheets. One pair felt
sheet. One that came up over
the ankles. The principle thing
are the pads. I must have
2 pair lace wipes at least
one pair before. I don't get
4 double & single. You get
do if you can make them
the last. You might leave the
stacs until later. I may
come out, with them attached
to them. I really gave
up a real hat, all my things
that is only a make matter
clearly.
I will need a leather bag
I mean like the one I have
I wonder if little B could
make for me a tie, piece
he'd have a rediality on
it. Ben, see gave it. I'd like
him to supply me with the
scarf that looks like a little
cape with the belt & pockets
by the way, he ought to

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870921187

[Letter, 1919 Dec. 7-8, Ellis Island, N.Y. to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)]
/ E[mma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 26 x 16 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

he paid for yours, Are you
scared. I can pay for the
too he will pay for you.
Then I ordered one for Mollie
the Dipsy. I remember did he
send it. I will need another
pair, come a brush, too take
brushes, anyway I am a bit
come up. He is one you hang
for Ella. I need an I get
hair. I have a hat, maybe
light. He must get a thermometer
for me. And, of course, a
~~brush~~ and it, needles, thread,
sewing, opening wires and
cottons, a holser, needles, pins
safety pins, tape, in black
white. 3 Brassieres. He
fine nothing size ~~44~~ 44.
Minnie could get all these
things in fact all of the
things, as you will have
other things to do.
Give Mollie my love say
to her that I hope it will
not another week or ten
days. I will know he will
be back by that time or
know definitely where I
am to be sent. I am very

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921187

[Letter, 1919 Dec. 7 - 8, Ellis Island, N.Y. to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)]
/ E[mma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 26 x 16 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18039
 I am so sorry of the former. I will
 Ben want to have a mark, me
 I surely see will not let now
 that I may be sent away in
 the end. It will be easier
 for me to go away. Anyways
 ask Ben for me to wait
 a little. Tell him if I do, come
 and an hour may not go
 over to the far, a few days,
 I do want to see our old
 mother again in the rest
 of the family including your
 dear mother & all the things
 When I see you face, I will
 give you a list of a few
 things for the girls, here
 work, we say have almost
 nothing for the journey
 awaiting them
 I am looking forward to
 seeing you in Aunt Emma's
 dining room. ~~at~~ If Ben
 should be a bitch I respect
 to see you, sure not at
 all. And in a few days
 when I will be out of
 jail. Meanwhile you can
 tell our women friends, if

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870921187

[Letter, 1919 Dec. 7 - 8, Ellis Island, N.Y. to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)]
/ E[mma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 26 x 16 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

They want to contribute to my
"safe chest" wooden, age the
thing, or anything that stands
Russia, I hope. When I leave
soon, I'll be like the brides
of old, laid on gold gifts
my own family alone will
want to help my me, and
I am a lucky kid, don't
you think?
I am my own child, I keep
of you every moment and
of ~~you~~ helped, preceasing
yours a daddy of course. I
think of the wonderful things
we will have when Russia
is permitted to be a free
dell daddy, I'll be as free
intely help at the new
theatre. My home is
happy for me.

I will see what happens
tomorrow, will you write
to your people. Meanwhile
you and daddy really need
them. I hope you and
also wired home, to the
Chicago folk.
I wonder if you have

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 Dec. 7 - 8, Ellis Island, N.Y. to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)]
 / E[mma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 26 × 16 cm.
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seen much of Kelly. She is the
 rarest creature I have met
 now I agree to have a little
 time with her. Dear Stella
 written for years we have
 planned to the large room in
 N.Y. Well dear I have not yet
 given up hope. In fact
 I am very sure of a few
 weeks more dear.
 I wish you could send
 word to Ellen & Gertrude
 I will write them both
 when I know how long
 I must stay here. Love
 to them both. And a love
 I see you are excited
 thing. Love to them both
 Tell a I will always love
 her dearly.

Sad night speed read
 mine. Devotedly
 EG

Will add a line in the morning
 Monday. Sad morning dear
 my girl seems to be worse
 I feel really worried. She wants
 to come out & I will leave her
 tomorrow. Bring sugar along EG

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 9 [Ellis Island, N.Y. to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Scrapbook, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

December 9th, 1919.

Dear Friend:

This may be our last letter to you. The expected has happened: the Federal Government has ordered both of us deported.

December 5th has been set by the Government for our surrender. Many of our friends doubted that Washington would go to such extremes, or act with such unseemly haste. But evidently they still have too much faith in the sense of justice or honor of governments. We are ordered deported, and there is no telling where we may be sent. England has already set the precedent of sending its Russian deportees to Turkey, where they are now held in concentration camps of the British Army, to be turned over to some victorious Ukrainian reactionary general.

America may follow the same example. Five Hindus have just been sentenced by Washington to be deported to India, which means sure death. The Federal Government may deport us to Siberia in charge of American military forces there, till they recognize Kolchak or some other Siberian imperialist. It is very doubtful whether America would want to strengthen Soviet Russia by deporting us there.

This is the most crucial period in our lives. We appeal to you, dear friend, most probably for the last time. Whatever happens to us the fight for deportation must go on. The principle of deportation involves the deportation of so-called aliens today, the banishment and exile of native Americans tomorrow, and the final crushing of every social and labor protest. The introduction of these Czarist principles and methods in America must be fought to the bitter end.

As mentioned, the Government ordered our surrender on December 5th, 1919. There is no doubt that our large, enthusiastic meetings in Detroit and Chicago have hastened the action of the authorities. But even if we can be muzzled in prison, we do not mean to be muzzled while out. We regret nothing, and we are happy that to the very last moment of our liberty we were able to raise our voices in behalf of Amnesty for Political and Industrial Prisoners, and in protest against deportation and all it involves.

In the case of Alexander Berkman, the Federal Government has already announced that he is to be imprisoned at Ellis Island without bail, till deported. They may take the same action in the case of Emma Goldman, but as she happens to be a citizen of the United States, we shall attempt to get a writ of habeas corpus for her and fight the case out to last possibilities. In doing so we feel we are making a fight not only for Emma Goldman, but for the hundreds and thousands of other naturalized citizens who are threatened with the arbitrary deprivation of their citizenship and deportation as "aliens".

If Emma Goldman can be deprived of her citizenship and deported, every other citizen of foreign birth is in similar danger. Therefore, she fights for her rights of citizenship. If the guarantees offered by citizenship are a delusion and a snare, if

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 9 [Ellis Island, N.Y. to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Scrapbook, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

-2-

American citizenship in the United States is a mere scrap of paper, we shall put the government on record to that effect -- for the enlightenment of the people of America and of the world.

Friends, we have often in the past called upon you to support the great struggles for free speech, for justice to labor, for Caplan and Schmidt, for Joe Hill, for Tom Mooney and for numerous similar causes. Your response has always been fine-spirited and generous. Indeed, it was your affection and co-operation that have been our greatest inspiration and support. And now we appeal to you, perhaps for the last time, to help the fight against Deportation.

It may be an expensive and long fight. But we feel sure you will not shrink from making even a little sacrifice to defeat Deportation and the present reaction, and to keep Emma Goldman and others threatened with deportation in the United States.

Time is short, funds are needed urgently, at once. Lose no time. Make all checks payable to Stella Comyn, 36 Grove Street, New York.

In conclusion, should the fight against the deportation of Emma Goldman finally prove unsuccessful, the fight against the present reaction, the Czarist White Terror in America, must and will go on. Do not forget the wives and families of deportees left without support or friends, the helpless little children needing your assistance, because the Government of the great rich country of America has robbed them of their fathers.

And now, Farewell, dear Friend. Remember that wherever we are, we shall carry in our hearts the precious remembrance of your dear love and comradeship.

Affectionately and Fraternally yours,

36 Grove St.,
New York City.

B3&AU
12646

Alexander Berkman
Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 9 [Ellis Island, N.Y. to Harry Weinberger, New York] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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December 9th, 1919.

E.G. +
A.B.
deft.

Dear Friend:

This may be our last letter to you. The expected has happened: the Federal Government has ordered both of us deported.

December 5th has been set by the Government for our surrender. Many of our friends doubted that Washington would go to such extremes, or act with such unseemly haste. But evidently they still have too much faith in the sense of justice or honor of governments. We are ordered deported, and there is no telling where we may be sent. England has already set the precedent of sending its Russian deportees to Turkey, where they are now held in concentration camps of the British Army, to be turned over to some victorious Ukrainian reactionary general.

America may follow the same example. Five Hindus have just been sentenced by Washington to be deported to India, which means sure death. The Federal Government may deport us to Siberia in charge of American military forces there, till they recognize Kolchak or some other Siberian imperialist. It is very doubtful whether America would want to strengthen Soviet Russia by deporting us there.

This is the most crucial period in our lives. We appeal to you, dear friend, most probably for the last time. Whatever happens to us the fight for deportation must go on. The principle of deportation involves the deportation of so-called aliens today, the banishment and exile of native Americans tomorrow, and the final crushing of every social and labor protest. The introduction of these Czarist principles and methods in America must be fought to the bitter end.

As mentioned, the Government ordered our surrender on December 5th, 1919. There is no doubt that our large, enthusiastic meetings in Detroit and Chicago have hastened the action of the authorities. But even if we can be muzzled in prison, we do not mean to be muzzled while out. We regret nothing, and we are happy that to the very last moment of our liberty we were able to raise our voices in behalf of Amnesty for Political and Industrial Prisoners, and in protest against deportation and all it involves.

In the case of Alexander Berkman, the Federal Government has already announced that he is to be imprisoned at Ellis Island without bail, till deported. They may take the same action in the case of Emma Goldman, but as she happens to be a citizen of the United States, we shall attempt to get a writ of habeas corpus for her and fight the case out to last possibilities. In doing so we feel we are making a fight not only for Emma Goldman, but for the hundreds and thousands of other naturalized citizens who are threatened with the arbitrary deprivation of their citizenship and deportation as "aliens".

If Emma Goldman can be deprived of her citizenship and deported, every other citizen of foreign birth is in similar danger. Therefore, she fights for her rights of citizenship. If the guarantees offered by citizenship are a delusion and a snare, if

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Dec. 9, 1919

-2-

American citizenship in the United States is a mere scrap of paper, we shall put the government on record to that effect -- for the enlightenment of the people of America and of the world.

Friends, we have often in the past called upon you to support the great struggles for free speech, for justice to labor, for Caplan and Schmidt, for Joe Hill, for Tom Mooney and for numerous similar causes. Your response has always been fine-spirited and generous. Indeed, it was your affection and co-operation that have been our greatest inspiration and support. And now we appeal to you, perhaps for the last time, to help the fight against Deportation.

It may be an expensive and long fight. But we feel sure you will not shrink from making even a little sacrifice to defeat Deportation and the present reaction, and to keep Emma Goldman and others threatened with deportation in the United States.

Time is short, funds are needed urgently, at once. Lose no time. Make all checks payable to Stella Comyn, 36 Grove Street, New York.

In conclusion, should the fight against the deportation of Emma Goldman finally prove unsuccessful, the fight against the present reaction, the Czarist White Terror in America, must and will go on. Do not forget the wives and families of deportees left without support or friends, the helpless little children needing your assistance, because the Government of the great rich country of America has robbed them of their fathers.

And now, Farewell, dear Friend. Remember that wherever we are, we shall carry in our hearts the precious remembrance of your dear love and comradeship.

Affectionately and Fraternally yours,

36 Grove St.,
New York City.

BS&AU
12c46

Alexander Berkman

Emma Goldman

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101

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 Dec. 9, Ellis Island, N.Y. to] Ellen [A. Kennan, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

EX1

9 Dec 1919

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9 Dec. 1919

Of course, you know all that happened yesterday. I hope you were not disappointed. We certainly were not. I was judge, Mayer from previous experience. In fact, we were surprised he even granted the stay until Thursday. It was more than he did 2 years ago when he had us arrested and at the City. Perhaps he has gained something from the criticism heaped upon him by the press. You probably also know that the Supreme Court has gone to the aid of the men of the caliber of the currying foreign in our yellow press. They will refuse the right of bail. It would be a long time on the destiny of the country. But then, everything is going to the present system. It is in fact not to liquid too much on the average of the world. I would not mind on the least if I were not in a pretty battered condition. The work on my left is only half finished. Ben - he often troubles - all of which I ought to have attended to before we go. Ben of course, are lights up. He was in 34 years, stay in a country. I should like to be in my affairs. But if you are told, Ben, that nothing, wherever that will be, it will not affect our spirit, or quench our ardour.

3442

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 Dec. 9, Ellis Island, N.Y. to] Ellen [A. Kennan, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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It is so joyful to me, how little people
on paper know enough experience. The
nearly an hundred years Russia used to
display of her political by administration
method of governing. But she kept to arrange
her affairs, and provide herself with
a variety of methods of Haus/Hart. And
by that word I mean to say, I do not
feel discouraged or uneasy. I only feel
much compassion for those who will
not see the new dawn emerging from
behind the darkness of the night.
Many in my neighborhood are so I am af-
flicted to see all this time to write to
you as my last act as my secretary.
I want the morning paper to be
your stand and feel. And I mean to
tell you that I am sure. I suppose you
know that little boy, James, is on his
see him. Love me. Tell him I think of him
lovely trip from Chicago if we do not
get out on time. I will arrange to see
him on my visiting day next week.
I expect him to see the Department for the
little sister, James, who will find the
city the person who needs. I can appreciate
her if the woman is loved and
go past a thing. I hope to see the girls
before I go away. But I want you to
write Max B. I love. I think of him always
as a dear one. How is dear Gertrude?
I should so love to see her and you too.
But they are more restricted here than in G.P.
I wonder whether your sister ever gets
any more. Don't be so worried always. I
got to ask him if he ever agreed to
too happy. I don't know what I am saying
think of us. Remember me to her very affection-
ately and to her little happy. Know you
mean so much to my mind in my life
with love. 6

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870921185

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 10, Ellis Island [N.Y. to] Stell[a Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Stell, darling. Ellis Island. N.Y. Dec 10th 1919
I had planned to send you a message
through the tambores. But the messengers were
unreliable saying that they will decide the
question of staying here by tomorrow. I may
therefore not be able to get to you
so I am writing my letter. Yes, Mr. Barker says
his promises of release are not reliable. I
think he is a liar. I am sure he will
be early. I am sure. I am sure. The Barker will
also receive my letter. You my anxiety
child will not be able to wait so long.
You have not the first badge I hope. Mr.
Barker will be generous to let our mail go
through without delay.
No Mr. Barker, I hope that is his name
did not give me much notice. I don't see
why he should be allowed to accept it even.
I am glad you called my attention to the review of your
plans. I didn't accept the Monday Dinner
because I was not sure you had not
killed. I am sure you had not
condemned to death to strike down so young
glorious a life. How did the men go on
buy Helena? I hope it is going to be
not so you are to Nevada. But you would
suffer from the boys will do that when they
are apart. Still the constant presence and help
ness of such despair is a very hard
thing. Besides, I don't want to stay in my
imprisoned life a little bit. I think I am in much
better condition to live in D. I do hope
I could have a little time together until I
go. I am sure you can find
There is no saying how the I C will decide
He must not be too systematic. But if he
should be admitted to jail, I want to know
until after the holidays. I am sure he is coming. I
am not. I'd have to contact him. He has been
in the way. I wrote you two letters, addressed to
the boys. I don't know if it was received.
I can't say for sure. I am sure he remembered my letter.
I wrote about should have been considered a letter.
and you my letter must have been considered a letter.
really try to make only the most matter of fact

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[illegible]

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Dear, dear Sean.
 Your short note received. We are under
 very rigid censorship - [only one man reading all
 going in coming and outgoing mail. So it takes
 before anything reaches us. Your dated Dec 5th
 given me only yesterday. But from now on, we're to
 receive our mail more promptly. Mr. Barker, one
 of the bigger officials here, will head our letters. But
 he got yesterday mid-day. I hope they will not
 be delayed. I know how anxious you must be. But
 there is the question of the censorship. You want
 to let us have it was sent this morning. Perhaps
 are attempting to be matter. Perhaps you don't
 want until K W has made sure just what and
 how much we will be permitted to bring along.
 You know, of course, that our old "friend" Judge
 Mayer keeps wanting us to stay until tomorrow
 would not admit us to jail. We expected nothing
 better, so we were not disappointed. K W says
 now in Wash. to get a longer stay for our appeal.
 He has probably mixed results. But so you may
 mind as much as you like. You may remain
 unless - Dan says. You may be in granting
 to stay as well. Dan is to be up the guest
 of his before the Supreme Court next week.
 means like me remain here.
 Needless to say, we are taking no
 chances - we are preparing you are passing
 still we are getting our things ready as far
 as it is possible. I don't expect that we
 distress that my beautiful coat is not
 enough even for my winter wear. Let
 us stay in Russia. I wish, dear, we were in
 the but business as you could send me a
 fur coat I always had an ambition to have
 but I can't in cold in Russia. Perhaps
 you know to what part of the world
 I hope I will be well supplied with warm
 I don't need a warmer coat. Dan is now making
 a new one of goat stuff. He says not a lot
 of things that type in compressed form. I don't
 think you will weigh so much as you would
 if you came here. You know what organs. I want
 to come compressed - vegetables, soap etc. would
 be fine. Let me know. In any event, you had

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better wait until we learn from K W just what it
 we may take with us.
 I want to see you very much. Dear friend
 friend. Will let you know when to come just
 as soon as we know definitely the final dis-
 position in open cases. If we are admitted
 by bail, I prefer to see you under your
 favorable conditions. But if that
 is not to be, of course you will have to come
 to Ellis Island. I have only one visiting day
 Tuesday. But I can have two visits on that
 day and on the next & all the other days.
 I'll leave by next Monday we expect to
 know where we stand. I will see that you
 are kept posted. 5:30 P.M. We were called for supper
 on the way we were handed a telegram from K W.
 Report of Supreme Court heard his argument. The matter
 will be decided by tomorrow. As I said before you
 will probably know the outcome sooner than we
 you will then be able to decide about your visit.
 One thing I want you to be prepared for. If we
 are admitted to bail - I am sure - I must put my
 self in the cage of a specialist about my old
 stomach trouble. I can not delay the day
 much longer. But I must hurry in with
 dentist. So that you had better arrange for
 dentist early next week when I remain
 get out.
 I am sure you will be very fine young
 girls - just the type shown in the past
 very opposite to the description of the
 freedom often met. They are very
 capable young men. It is not so much as before
 also splendid type. Besides they are
 about 100 more. They are all glad and willing
 to be here. Naturally. But I am glad to have
 the dear. I know how you feel. But any more
 he is very much under the
 a fine description. Our description under the
 were sent to a young man. He is a fine
 more beautiful than any other. He is a fine
 can you tell me what day, and I'll
 will be right. I am right up there and I'll
 come by travel. Will again by a girl and
 not a girl. Perhaps you will then play me
 a little. I promise you a play in the
 can let us get some sport. How is your young
 affectionately. C C

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 10, Ellis Island [N.Y. to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 3 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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only now found that mail ^{has} been made
reads our mail. Sorry I made the mistake
16

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 10 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman] and A[lexander] B[erkman], Ellis Island, N.Y.] / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

December 10th, 1919.

My dear E.G. and A.B.:-

I have all my papers ready in your case and leave for Washington to-night and have notified the Attorney General that I will appear before Judge Brandeis for allowance of Writ of Error and a stay. I do not intend to ask Judge Brandeis to fix bail, but after I obtain a stay I will make a motion before the entire Supreme Court as I did in the Abrams case.

Miss Fitzgerald will take up certain other points with you to-morrow, as I have given her a letter to see you. I will wire you when that matter is disposed of in Washington. I will probably make a motion for bail, returnable this coming Monday as Monday is ~~the~~ Motion Day, and I would not want to wait an additional week.

One of the big lawyers from Washington while disagreeing with your views, says in reference to E.G., "He certainly lent some spice to life. With Prohibition coming in and Emma Goldman going out, 'twill be a dull country'".

Sincerely and hurriedly yours,

HS/ICW

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1919] Dec. 12, Ellis Island [N.Y. to] Leon Malmé, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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Ellis Island. Dec. 12.
 Dearest Leon. I wrote you yesterday
 and the censorship board is terrible. It
 seems to go and as in so many
 letters to you has not gone. I know
 sending this in is indeed a great
 regret. I am sure you will find
 by tomorrow night that I have
 decided to check the whole legal
 system. It is really no use
 all we want out in the end
 meantime I will not be admitted
 to jail. And it is awful to stick
 here. Rather than give the
 enemies a chance to defeat me
 I have decided to tell them to
 go to hell. I send a demand to
 send me to Soviet Russia.
 They claim they will deport
 us in ten days. I hope it is
 true. In any event I want
 to see you when can you
 come. My visiting day is Dec
 day, but I can't find you
 any day. Better let me know
 because Stella now you can
 come so I should be there
 and it will hang to be in
 the morning whatever day you
 decide. Dear, it is not easy
 for me to go away so suddenly
 after all, I have lived, struggled
 and suffered here for 34 years.
 But I go in the cause of others
 that I have done my work
 well as our enemies would

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[Letter, 1919] Dec. 12, Ellis Island [N.Y. to] Leon Malmé, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 17 x 11 cm.
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yet hate me as much. What the
deers are right. I am life.
I go to feeling, but I B and
I have the love of Raun and
no less than great and deep
love of our own impulsive heart
your love, dearest. I am
I am, we will be able to
take the best of things. I am
will attend to that. What about
cigarettes for B?
If you want to make me
happy, send a letter to Stella. She can
smuggle it in to me. Don't you
want to expect you, dearest
my. I feel very proud of your
love and your devotion.
I am looking forward when
I can embrace you on the
sail of our beloved Russia.
Russia
With love & devotion
cg

Leon Malmé
121 J. Ward St.
Albany, N.Y.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871014181

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 12, Ellis Island [N.Y. to Ben L. Reitman, Chicago (fragment)] /
[Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
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hello my dear. No conversation here in 20
years, it is impossible to get anything out. Ellis Island. Sunday Dec 12 1919.
I do not even know where my letter to you is. I wrote it 1919.
Sunday, even went out. I received nothing from you. Yet I am
sure you have written. I hope to get that and suggest
and tell you are coming to see me tomorrow. I suggest
that you write me a letter. address, she will pass the letter to
me when she comes. I have never been in such a miserable
place as here. We have to see our visitors through a screen.
Nothing is allowed to be brought in. We get very few letters.
I suppose, ours are not sent out. Anyway there is
no hope of reaching you except this indirect way. You
must write in the same way. The papers: you know
you have, of course, read the papers. You know
that if I was released open a stay. His deportation is
definite. mine will be in a few days. He was not
only one week for me. No last. He tells me he is feeling
in his better self antagonistic that he is of my side.
Judge Mayer. In other words it will declare my case
spiral. Now, since I can not be free to leave the
attends to my affairs at least. And since it is certain
that I will be deported in the end, I have definitely
decided to check the whole matter to demand my
deportation to save Russia. I have already given
my statement through a N. It will, as I hope to
mark. But I have arranged my business and
connected me with the land of my choice.
The Government claims me will be deported in ten
days. I wish it were true. It would be to stick
here along. But we will have to face whatever comes.
It would be telling her where I stay but my entire
departure comes easy to me one day not long
country 34 years, life as I have lived and lived
I can go. I found my spiritual work here. I
know. I have gained here. All the time of my
life all the love all the hope that came to me
intense human being in a life time, have come to
me in this country. All my dreams, hopes, aspirations
all the more I have, all the more I have. I don't
found here here. Yes it is harder to go. But
I am proud to have been chosen by the masses
of this country. Here now we are getting us
of the country is the greatest proof to me that I
have served the cause of humanity. That I have not
wasted my life. I really feel proud of my
achievement. But no, I feel that no matter where I am
so far for the American Revolution can go on. I feel
very deeply about the future of this country. I have to
live in the world. I hope to see very much and
live better even if I will be too far away to

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871014181

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 12, Ellis Island [N.Y. to Ben L. Reitman, Chicago (fragment)] /
[Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois at Chicago Library.

Justices to make a record of
I am glad to have been in Chicago and to see
you again. I never regretted quite so much
how far apart we have travelled. And it is already winter
you have done since you left me, and you do not
take any of the 10 wonderful years with you. I do not
forget the power of confidence in the greatest test
of love, you have mine. I have loved you much
and I have been rewarded not only in pain - but
in great joy - in company - in all that makes life
full & rich & sparkling. I really owe much to you
during our years together. I have done my life
and most valuable work. My last hour, the last
influence of me during all the years, I owe
them to you. Your devotion, your inspiring work
your tremendous energy. I have also much
heart-ache - much soul-deepening misery to you
what of it. Nothing great in life can be achieved
without pain. I am glad to have paid the price
I only hope I too have given you something worth
the price you have paid for your love.
I shall feel proud & glad.
I know you are not happy now, you are too
restless - to be that, or to be contented. You are
not happy many changes. I hope that dear
little Brutus will bring much in your life
that he will grow up as fascinating as his father
but I hope so. I love Brutus as if he were my own. Tell
him so when he grows a little older & understand
all Anna, I regret more we were not known together
more to know her better. It seemed to me I had
up a little more during my stay this time. Perhaps
some day in the not too distant future we will
meet again - in free Russia - or some other place
where human beings have stopped eating and
begun living anyway. You dear old ones are going to
my life for ever and ever.
I do not know you again before we start. I do not
measureable. Tell me. I have written them. I
wonder did they get my letters? I will write them again
in the casual manner. Stella has my affairs in hand
all accounts will be rendered just as soon as possible
for us is prepared. Stella is working day & night
looking after everything. Dear, you will find my work
a pleasant surprise. We are now working day & night
trying to get everything which will also be guided
soon. I want you to put things to help my money
live. By the way, read the Great Desire by Alexander

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 Dec. 14] Ellis Island [N.Y. to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

to strap up. The steamers reg y are after blaming
J. has the same story. He has doggedly against
at the time, except for one more dead weight. 130
Dearie, do not fail to bring me a jellied coat
I have asked for so many times. I am afraid
in 1919. I also must expect some day for
ad y's, do not forget to get me a little myrror
you have not forgotten my sewing outfit
the journey. I got the bread & needles you sent
the case was open & no trouble. I hope one in
your library for me. I also want 2 glass of
to tell my father-in-law & another bottle of
tea & milk. All these things you can
in your bag. Dearest, I'll be in to come out
soon you'll have to get her coat at once. I
you mention her. I go to do I am afraid, she
never let all pack to go on head. Strange
I have should do nothing for her. I only
know she got my letter. I write her again
But it is so uncertain. Please you write up
soon for me. I'll see me will meet in the
too distant future. We may even meet on the
Island, if they don't send us away soon.
I dread to think how long. But I'll have
too, we'll make a bag of our own. I'll make
package. The food is still even the house
food. Ade did not get here, Sunday or
Friday. I should really like to see Ade. And
Raymond & Ruth. I'll see you next Saturday. I
may actually be here next Saturday. I
couldn't I can't allow any more of
myself. But surely Raymond & Ruth, as I
the one must be able to secure extra
passes. I am afraid nothing will come of
my going to Norway. Barred sent me a letter
to see dentist. He returned the report
that I must have my teeth attended to. I
what? I got from my visiting doctor. He
went to Washington about a campaign. He
a state affair. I wish you'd call up Dr. Wright
and ask what he would charge for coming
over, if he would consider it at all. I must
have my teeth finished up. I will not let her
man handle me. Even if Norway should charge
me extra. I will have it done. Ask Sam &

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[illegible]

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I am saying my loved & adored you. I do feel much distressed that you and I have been so little together, when we must have seen so much of each other. It is just nature's combination of circumstances which entangled me in a lot of ways & care and left me no time for myself, or. Base I want most to see. I could not even carry out my ~~rescue~~ plan to help my poor needed sister. It seems some how that Base who truly cares for himself, is an ideal and little time an opportunity for personal things. Here is more truth - you legend in Christ, saying "I have all, and I follow me" Wouldn't say mutual friend B. he says to know I am grateful Jesus. I had a line from him the other day. He closed with "Base, you are my Jesus". I put these few lines and my own scribbles across the appropriate which he called the "scrambled" of his. I have a special window pane. But it is not this. He may be not happy & fascinating personally with the earth, spirit as stronger & every hour by daily routine of traveling for 2 days & nights. He is happy, I am to Detroit & Chicago.

Yes, our little trip to Detroit & Chicago were very much worth while. Not that we bought the devotion of our Greenes and the enthusiasm of the people who clacked in thousands to hear us. But it was good to look into their eyes & feel that the seeds of hope and life were not very much encased in ^{and} strong bones. We know now more than ever that our struggle of 30 years was not in vain. We can now go forth a glad band.

Of course you know we were promised to be shipped within 10 days of last three days.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

[illegible]

Dear Mr. Rat - I too, would love to see you but as you say, your work makes it impossible to come in visiting days. H. W. has missed back to home just 2 days, a day this week perhaps but we do not sail Saturday, you could come home you couldn't have some one take your place then after noon, could you? I do want to look in your dear face once more & bid you good-bye to me. I'd also want to see Estruella if it can be arranged but if that should be impossible, you'd do me in Russia - love of you. That will be some rejoicing. I am ever

[illegible]

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 14, Ellis Island [N.Y. to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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Dear Leon, your letter of Dec 14, 1919, was received yesterday afternoon. I was
glad to get it. Glad also, you received my letter. The thing
who is superintendent here, read our mail every several
days. But why you got mine so promptly, now, I
will again let the secret, so you must expect that
I am glad you agree with me that my biggest
was the conspiracy of silence thing to do. I at least
had hopes of being admitted to high long enough
to arrange my affairs. I have myself physically
up. But my health has been same since, in fact
shaped. But he kept on after I got far enough
as then every one of experience began to get
could not face that. Last had not kept it did
not care to let a B go alone. After all, we have
stood by the trenches together for 30 years, it
is not logical that we should have to go together
even if my citizenship had been acknowledged
I should have followed a B to Russia.
Then too, you know my attitude towards the
courts. I am tired of people who think me a
court, and of sheer dishonesty. As we do not
know from personal experience just how the
operates when the question of justice involves
a poor devil or people with ideas. Anyway, I
did not feel justified to spend the money
money as a tedious trial work myself locked
away in Ellis Island. Besides, I am an invet-
erate optimist. Bogush was recalled to Russia
freedom from Siberia where he had spent
last of Dec 1918. May may I not be recalled to
America - my land of choice? Miracles do happen
sometimes we believe in them or not.
As to when we will be shipped. We have
the definite promise from Wash that it is
to be very soon, supposedly ten days from
last Thursday - which would mean next Saturday
and of course, you know Wash never breaks
its promise. Seriously, old guy, I don't know
when we'll go. I hope seriously I will be next
Saturday. We will be ready even before that. The girls
are getting our outfit ready - consisting of warm

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 14, Ellis Island [N.Y. to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman]. - 2 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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They are such a nuisance, even in well equipped America. What will they be in Russia? I am taking only the most necessary things, leaving the rest to the time when bread will be normal.

I don't like food-stuffs if it is anything matter. I mustn't stop taking, but as the matter is, they are a long time. The girls are attending to the matter. They said your presence in order to be a nuisance. You will be able to see. You are even the same old overgrown friendly. We must take a lot of hot tea & Russian paper along. That is, no place is more useful. What about tea, coffee & sugar, oh yes, & a few cigarettes. They are not items, do you think? Yes, you can't stand travel. I know how it is, and a long time. Keep some on my cell, for me. I would serve well instead of meat. The question is the sea voyage. But you would probably never.

Nothing is allowed here, not even a letter. I can't understand such a rule. It is actually more rigid than when it was. I would expect of you except you will be staying during the Christmas Saturday. If we should have to stay here, rules are set aside in all prisons at that occasion. And we are not even charged with a crime. If we do stay we will take the matter up with the proper authorities. I hope they will be on the way.

I can imagine how difficult it will be for you to get away from the place. You will have to make some arrangements for weeks. You want to see us. We must have no change, dear Jean. Meanwhile you can keep writing me. Before you come, call up Stella. You're likely to get her letter & P.M.

My cold is better, but I am still much guarded about it. I will be alright again soon. I am at sea change, I was ready to cross the Atlantic. I nearly died on the Pacific from cold & to Portland & back. Good by dear. Write again soon.

Affectionately.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

810807016

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 15, New York [to] Emma Goldman, Ellis Island, N.Y. / L[udwig]
A. Martens. — 1 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

Dec 29/19

EVERY WEEK

PRICE, TEN CENTS

SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

Vol. I

New York, December 20, 1919

No. 29

A Letter from the Soviet Representative to Miss Emma Goldman

December 15th, 1919.

Miss Emma Goldman
Ellis Island
New York.
Madam:

New York morning papers, Sunday, December 14th, published an alleged interview with me regarding your enforced departure to Russia. I was maliciously represented as having said that you and other refugees will not be welcome in Soviet Russia and that you may be punished by death if you "plot there as you plotted here." While I have never had the pleasure of making your acquaintance, I feel confident that you understand that I have made no such statements, and I am writing this only to emphasize this fact.

Far from sharing in the malicious hysteria, a product of which are the stories which I now want to correct and many other insults to which you, your comrades in exile, and thousands of other men and women of Russian birth have been subjected in the United States, I wish on behalf of my country to state that the Workers' Republic of Russia will be glad to offer an asylum to the first group of political refugees from the United States. Soviet Russia persecutes nobody for his beliefs or political or economic theories. Everybody, be he a bourgeois, an anarchist, a Socialist or a Communist is in Free Russia at liberty to express his opinions and to advocate his beliefs as long as he does not engage himself in active co-operation with the enemies of the Russian workers,—especially at this crucial time, when Soviet Russia is fighting for her existence against an avalanche of enmity and conspiracy. Whether he be a bourgeois an

anarchist, a Socialist or an unfaithful Communist, he meets severe punishment in Russia if he is found actively violating the interests of the Russian workers. I have no reason whatsoever to believe that you and your comrades in exile will not find yourselves in Russia wholeheartedly working for the strengthening of the ideals of the Russian Soviet Republic. I am confident that you therefore will be as welcome there as any other working man or working woman who is interested in the liberation of the working class.

I regret very much that the anomalies of the present situation prevent me from personally arranging for your security and comfort during your journey to Russia. You are perhaps aware of the fact that I, on behalf of my Government, made an offer to the Government of the United States to provide, at the cost of Soviet Russia, free trans-

portation to my country of all Russians in America who want to return there, or whose presence in the United States is not desired by the authorities here. This proposition so far has led to no results. If realized, it would have saved you unnecessary humiliation and privation, and it would have saved the authorities here unnecessary excitement.

Please accept my best wishes and convey them to all the other refugees. Tell them that Russia, liberated from the oppression which drove them out of their native land, is welcoming them back, confident that they will find there an opportunity to work for the development of the Soviet Republic of Russia.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) L. A. MARTENS,
Representative in the United States of the
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19] 19 Dec. 15 [New York to] Emma Goldman, Ellis Island, N.Y. / L[udwig]
A. Martens. — 3 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
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Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

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A.B. defnition

December 15 19

Miss Emma Goldman
Ellis Island
New York

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]19 Dec. 15 [New York to] Emma Goldman, Ellis Island, N.Y. / L[udwig] A. Martens. - 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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- 2 -

[Dec 15, 19]

economic theories. Everybody, be he a bourgeois, an anarchist, a Socialist or a Communist is in Free Russia at liberty to express his opinions and to advocate his beliefs as long as he does not engage himself in active cooperation with the enemies of the Russian workers, - especially at this crucial time, when Soviet Russia is fighting for her existence against an avalanche of enmity and conspiracy. Whether he be a bourgeois, an anarchist, a Socialist or an unfaithful Communist, he meets severe punishment in Russia if he is found actively violating the interests of the Russian workers. I have no reason whatsoever to believe that you and your comrades in exile will not find yourselves in Russia wholeheartedly working for the strengthening of the ideals of the Russian Soviet Republic. I am confident that you therefore will be as welcome there as any other workman or woman, who is interested in the liberation of the working class.

I regret very much that the anomalies of the present situation prevent me from personally arranging for your security and comfort during your journey to Russia. You are perhaps aware of the fact that I on behalf of my Government made an offer to the Government of the United States to provide, at the cost of Soviet Russia, free transportation to my country of all Russians in America who want to return there, or whose presence in the United States is not desired by the authorities here. This proposition so far has led to no results. If realized, it would have saved you unnecessary humiliation and privation, and it would have saved the authorities here unnecessary excitement.

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[Dec. 15, 19]

- 3 -

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of the Soviet Republic of Russia.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) L. A. Martens

Representative in the United States of the
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

The Emma Goldman Papers

891120008

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 15, New York [to] Emma Goldman, Ellis Island, N.Y. / L[u]dwig A.] Martens. — 3 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.
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IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO FILE NO. —

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL
SOVIET REPUBLIC

BUREAU OF THE REPRESENTATIVE
IN THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

DIPLOMATIC DEPARTMENT

December 15 19 19

No.

ADDRESS:
WORLD'S TOWER BUILDING, 110 WEST 40TH ST.
NEW YORK

Miss Emma Goldman
Ellis Island
New York

Madam:

New York morning papers, Sunday December 14th, published an alleged interview with me regarding your enforced departure to Russia. I was maliciously represented as having said that you and other refugees will not be welcome in Soviet Russia and that you may be punished by death if you "plot there as you plotted here." While I have never had the pleasure of making your acquaintance nor have you had an opportunity to make my acquaintance, I feel confident that you understand that I have made no such statements, and I am writing this only to emphasize this fact.

Far from sharing in the malicious hysteria, a product of which are the stories which I now want to correct and many other insults to which you, your comrades in exile, and thousands of other men and women of Russian birth have been subjected in the United States, I wish on behalf of my country to state that the Workers' Republic of Russia will be glad to offer an asylum to

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- 2 -

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- 3 -

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Sincerely yours,

L. Martens

Representative in the United States of the
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

APPROVED
1944 DEC. 14

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 Dec. 16] Ellis Island [N.Y. to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

dearest you must have Ellis Island. This day everything
left this place with a heavy heart. I thought of you
while I was waiting for nearly 2 weeks to see
my dear comrades. To renew your love, were waiting
to get. Since I am here, I am sure you should
have been with me. I am sure you are our visit
when the boat did not leave until 12.30, is
beyond me. But there is no way to
be working of a mechanized machine.
Now an answer to the day, when.

I could not see the manager of the
dining-room. He was gone when we were
talking to my friend. I therefore could
not find out why the sudden decision
again the few cables, which I was assured
on Saturday. I must have. I have come
to the conclusion it is useless to deal
with the authorities. So, if we are not out
any later at the end of the week, I will
get to the rescue for me. An interview
with the U.S. at least we will then know
what we may or may not have. That
will save you all the expense of getting
foodstuffs. The expense of doing any work
I was told you took everything back.
Did you? Let me know.

Kelly did not arrive. I wonder why.
Perhaps she was denied the right to see
me. Many I was told very clearly that
I may have 3 visitors a one visiting
day. Considering that we are granted only
one visiting day a week, it seems
necessarily days to deprive me of my
second visitor to day. But we may
do other things. I mean to, I am sure, with
all when I know definitely if we have
to stay or here. Dear Stella must have been
bitterly disappointed, I am sure. I was shocked
to learn she must go back to P. so soon.
I hope she will wait at least until we
renew more definitely about our case.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919 Dec. 16] Ellis Island [N.Y. to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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I got your letter as it comes to day. I was
told they would have been given me yesterday
but I had been taken to court. I was also
informed that I had written 2 pages I would
expedite delivery. I hope so. The Jersey Club
is beautiful. Do not forget to tell dear Sarah
the dress is to be in one piece. I like Kelly
dress. Because of its simplicity I do not care
for the dressing. I like Sarah and
Brubaker my little. My dear I stay or go, I will
never forget them. I can't say I would not see
me with Gordon. My boy must not be the man
of a pretty coat. I absolutely need one. My boy
from Jefferson has gone to his. One of the men
bitten, I need not say, really he is a thing.
I got the silk oil cloth. I had nothing at the
other things you sent. I have to be a little
to his things. I have nothing to do with
you. I am sorry. The bridge is very good and
responsible upon the other fellow.
I received a very beautiful letter from Helen
tell her I mean to hold her to her word - to
nurse me back to health. He will be with me until
I have to go. She may yet be able to do that.
But in case of failure, I shall want her and all to
visit me in dear old Russia just as soon
as the cruel No. 10 is lifted. However, she
must not give up hope of my being well. See
for a short period soon. I expect I will be
in phone dim. I must see him. But I will be
to be sure a special pass, as I could not otherwise
pass the few minutes. I have with you. I also will
be glad to see Prof. Kirchmeyer & Co. who has at least
will agree to find out how to reach me. I hope you
have written a strong letter & have asked her to
make it known among the people in the city. I
not so happy. I would be happy that such things should
come up at her time. The paper you sent me were
not yet delivered. But I got the paper & the Metropolitan.
Dear & I go to nurses' settlement a line. Indeed, I have
not forgotten her. Dear her for her kind note. I
I am not yet on the way. I suppose I will visit
us tomorrow. I hope we may not get the note until
Monday. I hope you get him out. He is here Tuesday.
mean at his office. Tell him to come here early
Good night. I hope you will soon
send out the letter. You ought to have it. I return
love.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

840222034

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 16 [Ellis Island, N.Y. to] W.[S.] Van Valkenburgh, [Staten Island? N.Y.] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

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EMMA GOLDMAN
36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

Blackwells Island
Dec 16th 1919

My dear, dear Van.
Stella brought me your beautiful letter
I moved me tremendously. I think I do know what
my dearest friend will mean to my friends. I mean
friends not merely in the sense of vanity of ideas
but those like you. But I also know what it
means to me to leave them. I can say most
things that this is indeed the greatest test my
life has ever been put to. I have
turn my back on a life work of 30 years. I
all I have dreamed to reach for in the
of my choice. And especially, the sudden
from dear friends I loved me. is no
easy task. And yet, I never felt more peaceful
in all my life. I think it is because my
life in the future of America is deeper
than ever in my 30 years of struggle. I
feel that I shall yet play a part in
the American Revolution. Oh, I know, you
will think me naive. But is that? But
remember, so were the Russian workers, and
they were once called naive. Yet now, they are
the fiery symbol for the whole world.
I just wrote an American woman, one
of the true love types, who once helped me
against the Society of American Friends of Russia
freedom. I said how strange the East
shall now organize in Russia the first
Russian friends of American freedom. How
wonderful that I should live to render this
best service to America. It is but a small yet
an for the help to liberate Russia, America
has rendered. So I am looking forward to
the day when American Democracy will come to
Russia, here to plead for assistance to free
from American autocracy. Perhaps I shall ever

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The Emma Goldman Papers

84022034

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 16 [Ellis Island, N.Y. to] W.[S.] Van Valkenburgh, [Staten Island? N.Y.] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

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reside at Alex's meetings. Anyway I am
ready to go, but the work I want to do in
Russia. But too, add to my peace of mind
only hope the Government will keep its
promise to ship us out Saturday. But
the worst thing is I have been in
the cotton, censorship dept, I was free
in Jefferson City. But still as I
was, until I came. But I
am afraid of publicity now. But they have done
in the days. They still compel the political
Rev. friends to accept an address. I expect
our Government is so poor on ideas of
needs imitate the most vicious methods
of Russia. But like Garibaldi Russia
is digging its own grave. Let's march
funeral march.

Dear old Van, you have become very
very dear to me. But I may never see you
again. I have always been much more expressive
in my personal than personal group. But
I tell it to you now. I love the children
and you for me. Sweet Rita affectionately
just as soon as I am an Russian poet
I will write. Also Stella will keep my friend
listed. But Stella suffers terribly now.
I will not pass good luck. I hope to
meet you again before dear crazy girl
our world grows much older. Our devoted
Evening. c c c

Dear Sean was here today. He promised to
go soon. By the way, do not believe the
story about the death of Martin. I had a wonder-
ful letter from him. The motive of the Sunday
story is only too obvious - to justify the
reputation of the spread discreditable to the rev-
olutionary cause. Good night. c c c
I told Stella you must get me a Rembrandt bottle, she
said you wanted to get me something.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850702405

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 16 [Cincinnati? Ohio? to] Emma Goldman, [Ellis Island, N.Y.] / Daniel Kiefer. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Dec. 16th, 1919.

Miss Emma Goldman,
Care Stella Conyn,
36 Grove St.,
New York.

COPY for Call
to publish
H.W.

Dear Miss Goldman:

I trust this will get to you before you leave.
I think you did well in refusing the so called clemency.

Your deportation is humiliating to all Americans, who have been proud of our upholding freedom of speech, however derelict we were in upholding freedom otherwise. You must go, partly, because, interests troubled with a bad conscience, fear lest you make clear something they wish concealed; and partly, because, they would intimidate others from telling the truth, and partly, because, officials who know this to be the case, dare not oppose the wishes of these interests.

The order for your deportation is signed by Louis F. Post, who on more occasions than one, before he held office, had declared, that so long as you were denied the right to express your opinion freely, the right of no American was safe. The reason given for your deportation, Mr. Post knows to be false. He is on record, as having declared, that the raw head and bloody bones Anarchist, is but a figment of the imagination of frightened plutocrats and corrupt officials. But bear in mind that while your case was before Mr. Post, Senator Watson was demanding an investigation of his radicalism. Yet ~~with~~ of feeling against him, we must let him have our sympathy and sorrow.

And carry with you no ill will toward the American people. They have been duped and betrayed by plutocratic interests, a fact that must become clear to them, sometime, in spite of all efforts at suppression. Czarism and Kaiserism bear within themselves the seeds of their destruction. It does not matter under what names they masquerade, even though they presume to label themselves "Democracy".

I trust you'll be safely landed in Soviet Russia, where I believe you will not only be safe, but will become a factor in their great experiment at securing to those who are doing the work of Russia, the rights so long denied them.

Again, with added assurances of appreciation and regards, of Mrs. Kiefer and myself, for the persistent efforts you have made these many years, for freedom for all the people,

I am,

Yours truly,

Daniel Kiefer

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919] Dec. 18, Ellis Island [N.Y. to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] /
 Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Spring 5305

13020

EMMA GOLDMAN
 36 GROVE STREET
 NEW YORK

Ellis Island Dec 18
 Monday Eve.

My dearest Alice.
 I too feel the pain and the tragedy that you
 and I united by a thousand ties should feel as if
 far apart. Some time of makes me feel as if
 some cruel force were bent on separating us.
 Even since you came to us we were
 separated from close companions. At first, it
 was the terrible bitter struggle I went
 through with Ben & his impossible brother. I
 was so torn & bleeding I could reach out for
 you as much as I needed understanding and
 compassion. Last a year was terribly trying
 and dispiriting for all of us. And here we were
 surrounded out matters all sapping my strength
 and tearing my body & mind.
 When I met you, a year in 1916 I found
 a very, very much to get close to you. But
 you seemed very aloof - I wrapped up my
 heart which I was very glad you felt. I felt a
 warm home & special friends. I felt a
 between you, even between Ben and myself. It
 was terribly unhappy & lonely. Ben & I
 and July 1916 he left us and all my
 and patches were set aside. And since then
 we have been so tense - so nerve destroying
 so chaotic. How was one to seek & find a
 soul? It seems to me - that only since
 return from prison and the fact that you too
 were terribly distressed & unhappy that you
 have really come very close to me. I know
 things people together more than just. Day after
 day I planned to take you away from the
 and meet with Sasha, your fatigued condition
 the nameless things you were engaged in
 I wanted to take you away all to myself, so
 and I could really learn to know one another.

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[Letter, 1919] Dec. 18, Ellis Island [N.Y. to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] /
Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Spring 5305

13021

EMMA GOLDMAN
36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

to give to each other what no man or set of
men can give to a woman. Understanding
affection and tender devotion. But again, some
force came between us. The demands of
our own long sick bodies and your own
the demands of my own little family on mine.
We were both drained dry and though we
might have helped each other in many ways
we could not get together. And now, the last
few months, I feel so tired, so battered up
each minute pulls me out of my heart and
spirit. I can hardly support the strain much
longer. And so I shall go away without the
chance of getting truly close to you, dearest and
my dear. I do, not know your life.
Beautiful, spirit, your tenderness, your gleam.
I feel I do know more than that. You
have developed a grain into a real force, de-
veloped a force which will yet play a part
in the coming of the century which is struggling
to people a new world, a new life, your par-
ticipation in our common work, the
road, some part in your development, my
way, I am very, very proud of you my dear.
I feel about your years devotion to Sasha. It
is very wonderful to me. I wish you trip
could be together soon and in each other's
could drink the inspiration and strength the
we have but is yet before us. I know you
greatly. I will suffer for longing of you. Like
in the most intense age of womanhood Sasha is
in his dangerous age. I am sure he needs what
any one needs so much as he needs you.
I hope fervently that you may be able to join
him soon. But more than that even, I hope

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880126004

[Letter, 1919] Dec. 18, Ellis Island [N.Y. to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] /
Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.
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you dear girl. will get a little rest, a little
peace, that you will find yourself from all
the turmoil & madness that have been yours.
I hope you can go into a quiet place
my darling to leave this land where I have
struggled for 24 years and where I have suffered
so much, in no small measure, just now, I feel
of my friends, was pulled out of me. I feel
terribly empty, yet I am not exactly un-
happy. I am really glad I can go on my
leaving him to face his journey alone, I would
have been even a great wrench. But of course
I have all my loved ones here, even the dear
of a great elemental love - Lucy B. It is
hardly in a way that I have had 2 years
a battle down my madness for the last
realized when I saw him in Chicago that I
can never come to care for him. I also realized
that I could never again have him in
life in the way of the past. I have in
the agony of departure, I still loved him
with his old madness. It is not so difficult
now though it is not easy.
But all that is not of moment now. I am
thinking of the future & the way I want
to do for America much more than for my-
self. Because I am forced out of love
I long passionately to do much for her country.
I really wanted to tell you most in
I want you to keep up your work in
our literature anyway. I want you to devote
yourself to it until you have the chance to
focus up. With the help of G. H. Lodge as your
principle agent, you will be able to produce
our literature. I am sure that you will be a
mand for it, if it is brought to the attention
of the people. Now is the psychologic moment.
I am sure you will be able to find a way
to be carried out so well, be wonderful. I am
by that time I will have a little place
for you waiting for you. I may not be able
to get you enough bread, but I can always give
you a lot of love. Besides, we'll share what we
have.

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[Letter, 1919] Dec. 18, Ellis Island [N.Y. to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Spring 5305

13023

EMMA GOLDMAN
36 GROVE STREET
NEW YORK

I don't know just how our finances are - but I am sure there will be enough to carry out your plan now & if she cannot that should not be your fault. I love you very much & hope some day to be called upon to repay my love. Meanwhile, I want you to believe in it. I know you love me a little anyway. I hope some day we two can be close enough to each other & under less stress & strain, so you can love me more. I want your friends and your love very much and kiss you tenderly.
Your C. G.

When you see or write Marya Gruening give her my love. She is another one I want to know intimately & never succeeded. Love to Alec Cohon I don't think he ever liked me much, I maybe mistaken. I hope I am give dear old father. Mr. Stirling my love. She is a very kind person. She must be terribly lonely in her old age. That is the one thing I really dread - loneliness. I want to be used by it by my time. I have been very very lonely since father & Ben pulled the rug he loved. Life is strange, yet very fascinating. Good night. C. G.

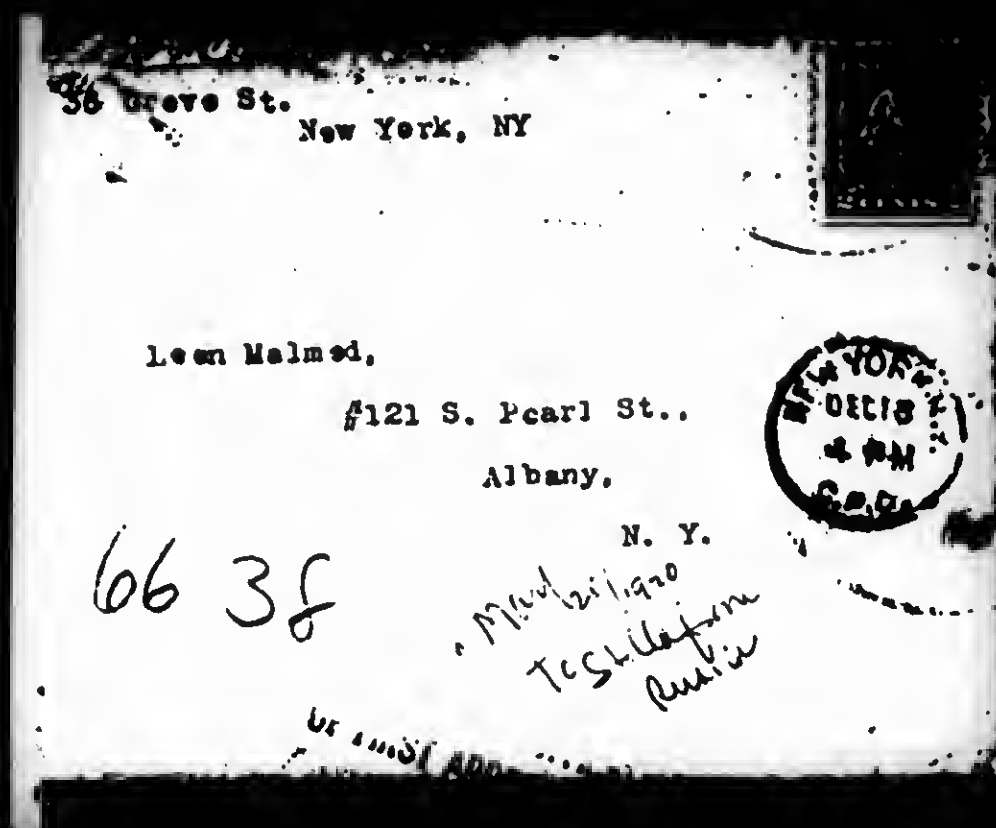
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860616003

[Envelope, 1919] Dec. 18, New York [to] Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 9 × 11 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 19, Ellis Island [N.Y. to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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13024

Ellis Island, Friday Evening,
Dec. 19th, 1919.

Dear, dear Friends:

We have been told this afternoon that we must get ready as we may be shipped any moment. This, then, is our last chance to speak to you once more while still on American soil. Most of what we have to say about the black reaction now rampant in this land and the urgent need of concerted action to stem the tide, you will find in our last message to the American people—the pamphlet on Deportation, written by us while here, and now in the hands of the printer. To you dear, faithful friends, we want to send a parting word.

Do not be sad about our forced departure. Rather rejoice with us that our common enemies prompted by fear and stupidity, have resorted to this mad act of driving political refugees out of the land. This act must ultimately lead to the undoing of the nation themselves. For now the American people will see more clearly than our ardent work of thirty years could prove to them, that liberty in America has been sold into bondage, that justice has been outraged, and life made cheap and ugly.

We have great faith in the American people. We know that once the truth is borne in upon them what the masters have made this once promising land, the people will rise to the situation. With Samaan strength they will pull down the rotten structure of the capitalist regime. Confident in this, we leave with joy in our hearts. We go strengthened by our conviction that America will free herself not merely from the sham of paper guarantees, but in a fundamental sense, in her economic, social, and spiritual life.

Dear friends, it is an old truism which most of you have surely experienced: No one ascends to the greatest heights of faith is often hurled into the depths of doubt. We have known the ecstasy of the one and the torture of the other. If we have not despaired utterly, it is because of the boundless love and devotion of our friends. That has been our sustaining, our inspiring power. Few fighters in the struggle for human freedom have known such beautiful comradeship. If we have been among the most hated, reviled, and persecuted, we have also been the most beloved. What greater tribute to one's integrity can one wish?

As in the past, so now in this our last struggle on American soil, your love, your splendid devotion, your generous gifts, are our strength and encouragement. We feel too intensely to express our gratitude in words. We can only say, that our physical separation can have no effect on our appreciation of your loyalty — it can only enhance it.

We do not know where the forces of reaction will land us. But wherever we shall be, our work will go on until our last breath. May you, too, continue your efforts. These are trying but wonderful times. Clear heads and brave hearts were never more needed. There is great work to do. May each one of you give the best that is in him to the great struggle, the last struggle between liberty and bondage, between well-being and poverty, between beauty and ugliness.

Be of good cheer, beloved comrades. Our enemies are fighting a losing battle. They are of the dying past. We are of the glowing future.

Fraternally and joyously,

BS2AU
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EMMA GOLDMAN
ALEXANDER BERKMAN

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1919] Dec. [20 -] 21, Ellis Island [N.Y. to Frank] Harris, [New York] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives.

Political Magazine for May, 1920

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families of these men were not even permitted a parting visit to their husbands, sweethearts, fathers and brothers. Their homes have been broken up, their wives and children made destitute. Yes, and the request of the wives to go with their men to Russia was also denied.

Are you familiar with the glowing tribute of Nekrasov to the Russian women? In his poem by that title Nekrasov sings of the heroism, the fortitude, of the women on their way to Siberia to join their exiled men. But no American poet shall write such a paean song because America lacks even the humanity of the Russian men. She exiled the men, but denies the right of the women to follow their loved ones into exile. In this, as in many other respects America remains the arch-hypocrite, the proclaimer of sanctities which she always outrages.

Ellis Island is supposed to represent the initiation to Americanism; the first place where the newcomer is to taste of free democratic institutions. Here his education begins in American justice, American hospitality, and American humanity. What Ellis Island really represents is the American Bastille, the place of outraged legions, of blighted hopes, of utter despair; the newcomer is forced to spend weeks and months and sometimes years in hideous steel cages fit only for wild beasts. Here he is fed on rotten food; here he is bullied and ill-treated beyond endurance. But dread of the conditions are which confront the ordinary emigrant, they are as nothing compared to those imposed upon the political refugees.

Perhaps you have read of the hunger strike on Ellis Island which lasted five days. Well, the strike was a protest against a wretched screen recently installed through which the political must now see their dear ones. These visits may take place only once a week and last for barely a half hour. Bear in mind that the kin of these political are working people. To get to the Island they must lose a day's work. When they get there they are forced to wait for hours to see their loved ones only for a few minutes. I have with me two sweet Russian girls. They are of the material out of which Russia has made her wonderful martyrs. The old mother of one of the girls hastened all the way from Chicago to see her child before she was sent away. She was allowed only twenty minutes to see her girl. She came again today; was on the Island from morning till late afternoon, famished with hunger and faint from cold. She begged, she pleaded to see her child again. She was refused. The other girl, a mere child of twenty, (she is the sweetheart of one of the boys now serving twenty years for something Supreme Court Justice Holmes and Brandeis both said had a right to do) begged to be permitted to see her mother before being sent out of the country, she was refused.

There is refined cruelty for you. Nothing ever recorded from darkest Russia equals the torture America imposes upon men and women whose crime, if there be, is the crime of the prophets, rebels and martyrs of all times.

Then the censorship on Ellis Island. Never in my prison experience have I known anything like it. Letters are mutilated, delivered or not, according to the notion of the censor who reads mail but twice a week and then in great haste; some of my letters written to members of my family reached them eight days after the date of mailing with the most inoffensive parts of the letters cut out. In that way the officials on Ellis Island add insult to injury and make the lot of the Political doubly hard.

Then there is the graft. Because the man in charge of the restaurants wants to make profits out of the poor wretches on Ellis Island, no food of any sort, not even fruit, is allowed to be brought in from the outside. The friends and relatives of the Politicals, for instance, spend small fortunes in things to eat, carry them to the Island only to be forced to take them back. I have already stated that the food served on Ellis Island is not fit for dogs. In that way those who save a little money are compelled to spend their last cent on food to order. In this way the restaurant keeper gets his graft of which the officials no doubt receive their share.

Apropos of the officials; since Mr. Howe stated they are all like hungry dogs jealous of who will get the juicy piece of meat. The greatest confusion reigns and each one shoves the responsibility upon the other. One Assistant Superintendent, I believe he is, a Mr. McKee, ignorant as well as arrogant, is hated both by the victims on the Island and by the people who work under him. He seems to delight in bullying everybody. There is only one man at all decent, Mr. Perry Baker, but he is almost never to be reached since all requests must go through the man, McKee.

Oh, I wish I could make you see the sorrows as I have seen them. I wish I could describe adequately the pain and woe of the human mass dumped upon Ellis Island from every corner of the earth; especially the pain and woe of the Political refugees. I know you would see the outrage as I do; that you would then call the attention of your readers to the Bastille on Ellis Island, and to the things this Republic is doing to men and women whose burning faith it could reach in no other way.

About Alexander Berkman and myself there is not much to say. We are so rich in affection and devotion nothing the hysterical White Guards of America can do will have any effect upon our spirits. Only fools can delude themselves with the idea that they can punish us by sending us to Soviet Russia. Not even if they were to send us to Kolchak would they reach our souls. One

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[Letter, 1919] Dec. [20 -] 21, Ellis Island [N.Y. to Frank] Harris, [New York] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives.

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Pearson's Magazine for May, 1920

has but one life to give which those who love the ideal have already offered up gladly. Besides, I for one would much rather die at the hands of a Kolchak than at the hands of American White Guards. There is no pretense of freedom or justice in Kolchak. There is nothing but pretense in our American Kolchaks.

We are proud to be the first Political refugees to be exiled from the land that was called the home of freedom and refuge for the oppressed of every race and every clime. We are glad to go to Soviet Russia where to strengthen the mighty arm which is keeping off the imperialist beasts from the fair throat of the Russian Revolution. No, it is not from personal reasons that I appeal to you at this last hour on American soil. It is out of deep sympathy with my fellow-sufferers and those who will be brought here after us. I implore you to use your powerful pen to expose the conditions on Ellis Island. They are a disgrace and an insult to what is still decent in America.

In a few days the Christian world will again celebrate the birth of Him who came to bring peace on earth and good will to men. There is more than one way to kill the prophets and saviours of man. The crucifixion was a humane act compared with the deaths Christ has been made to die so many times at the hands of a Christian world. Right here on Ellis Island they murder Christ each day—inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my little ones, ye have done it unto me, he said; yet brazenly they still proclaim peace on earth, good will to men; they whose hands reek with the blood of the Christ they assassinate every hour.

It is late and I feel weary. I do not know whether we shall spend the remaining hours here or on board the ship that is to take us away. My little room companions are completely exhausted. Poor dear brave children. Their sufferings will not be in vain.

I hope to meet you in Soviet Russia soon. Au revoir.

Ellis Island,
12 midnight.

Faithfully,

EMMA GOLDMAN.

3.30 A. M. December 21st. We have just been called. We are being taken away. E. G.

If I could add anything to the effect of this letter I would; but in its bare sincerity and simplicity it is appalling and should stand alone. Yet something I may say.

I have seen New York policemen clubbing peaceable processionists, women and men on Fifth Avenue. I have seen them drive ladies off the Avenue who were walking quietly and without crowding the way as a protest in favor of amnesty. I have read of lynchings in the South and West of a worse than savage brutality. Now Ellis Island takes its place in my mind as an exemplification of the same inhuman cruelty; Miss Goldman has named it well, the American Bastille.

I often wonder how long it will be before Americans realize what they have done in the last two years! They have given a wonderful exhibition of power and courage; they have proved themselves the greatest fighting people in the world; the masters of the world if they will; but they have won this empty honor at a dreadful cost. They have abrogated the Constitution; torn up the Charter of their liberties; abandoned the proud name of free men; they have denied free speech to their opponents; and have tortured and done to death cautious objectors in their prisons. They have surpassed the worst despotism of the last hundred years in brute intolerance and in the savage punishments they have inflicted on those of their own people who differed with them or sought to restrain them; they have lost their fairest title to the honor and affection of mankind.

I am still an American; I do not believe that Americans desired the glory of conquerors; I am convinced that they hold the name of free men higher. I do not believe that the countrymen of Jefferson and John Brown and Emerson and Lowell, are proud of prohibiting free speech and free meetings. I am sure that Lincoln would be ashamed in his soul if he heard of young men tortured to death in American prisons because they believed that war was wrong, and if he could read how a mother was forbidden to see a daughter about to be deported on Ellis Island, he would make quick work with the petty tyrants.

But alas! Lincolns are not always given to a nation even in uttermost need; his example, however, is ours and his spirit still lives.

Let each of us now consecrate himself to this work solemnly, steadfastly determined to do what he can to abolish the wrong and bring the old fame and ancient honor back to this land of ours.

If we are resolved, a Howe will soon put an end to that foul torture-den and make of Ellis Island once again a city of refuge for the oppressed and a house of refuge for the wretched; if our minds are made up, a general Amnesty will be proclaimed, and if we wish it, every one who stands for President will have to sign the Constitution and declare that he will never be a party to any abridgment of the liberties guaranteed in the First Amendment. Nay more, we should further resolve that any Member of Congress or any Judge who should advocate or allow any infringement of the First Amendment should thereby forfeit his position.

It is the men who seek to restrain freedom who must be restrained. And so out of evil good may come.

EDITOR PEARSON'S

Latest Letter From Miss Goldman.

Petrograd, Jan. 29, 1919.

DEAR MR. HARRIS:

Our railway trip through Finland, is locked,

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[illegible]

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 27 to 1920 Jan. 5 [en route to U.S.S.R. to Frank] Harris, [New York] / Emma Goldman. — 6 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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of our men on Ellis Island. Into the open, 130 ft. high
wall was covered with snow. It was bitterly cold.
My City was a myriad gleaming lights, many on
adapated in a heavy mist. Only the palaces of the
same monster was shadowed in the dim distance.
Two rows of men were in front of us. One a
shivering lot with huddled heads of every
description in their hands huddled closely together.
The other, big, bulky men with hard faces of the
average type of detectives, patrician sons of the
command in our cities. We were marched
in a gang, none leading to a large, after
the men were quickly loaded on, followed by
the chief of Immigration. Came next a his staff
a regiment of men from the Dept. of Justice
of Immigration of Calum. Had some the marks
on the large were a military crew - soldiers
with fixed bayonets in charge of prisoners.
Was 4:20 a.m. Sunday Dec. 21st. When the
began to slide down the Bay. The large
women were in a open cranked fellow, Kate
my scenes of cruel eyes staring at
the face. Over us on the open deck were in
coats, some of them in their shoes and
without coats. Among them a young boy
on crutches and a man who had been laid
up in the City. I stayed hospital with
the stomach. He had been taken out of his
bed that very night.
The whole scene was so much like the
scenes I had read about in Russian Peter
at the - the tales of the stars - the weary man
back of political to Siberia under military guard
I actually had to rub my eyes to make sure
was not dreaming. That it was not a case of
organism - nerve. That it was not the Russia
of the past. No it was not the Russia of the
past. It was the America of the present - the
American - more numerous - more
unrelenting, hence more cruel.
I wonder why it is that those engaged in some
industrial act, always choose the dark days
nearly always the state seems to have created crime
wants to be dead, in the early morning pages
so top. When the state wants to disclose its
social dissensions it dare not face the light of

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day. It never dares to perform its cruel deeds. It
never dares to break in upon them. It's that
the danger itself is the symptom of a new day
with a new end of crime and injustice. It
is certainly significant that we should have
been kidnapped out of NY in the strictest
secrecy & when the people were asleep.
Wonder why?

It is fortunate that I never lose my sense
of humor. The whole stupid performance
is a ridiculous display of authority & inflated
importance made me laugh. One of the officers
inquired why I was so amused. I told him
I considered it very funny for a would be
mighty Government to engage in a French
style show to red light & a few political
opponents. How were the Government must
feel & how afraid.

It has been my dream for many years
to make a long sea voyage where I should
be free from the harassing thought of lectures
etc. Just to drift for awhile - curled up
by the waves & know not where. But not in
my mildest fancy did I dream I should ever
travel in such state - military state at that.
Days & night sentries are stationed at every
corner. When we are taken on deck
we are followed by soldiers - officers & sailors
patrol the deck. Besides our special guard
men from the Dept of Labor. In fact, our
retinue is nearly as large as the one which
traveled with my Majesty on the American
titanic. Fortunately we are not loaded with
our 14 phantoms. Neither shall we make
ourselves as ridiculous as poor old Wilson
when we reach Europe. The attention accorded
us here is very touching - the entire crew
is solicitous about us. The food too, is good.
What else does one want?

As to the care of the men - that is quite good
matter. They are packed together like cattle, fifty
in a cabin, not large enough for twenty. The
bunks on top each other would barely change

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space to sleep in wretched hampers and beds.
The Buford is a dilapidated boat, the water
superheating in steam all sides. The men
in flannel - the beds are in the blankets
damp. Only salt water for washing
no soap. My most outrageous thing is that
only 2 toilets are supplied for 245 men
packing of it. So low has America fallen
that it must needs drive people out
on a rotten boat with conditions for
days and send them adrift. There is
President in regard to the secret treaties
Washington to this day is ignorant of
final destination. It had to march
some showing of getting us out of the
country. never mind where to - we have
long been will pass. There is central
used stupidity with a vengeance.
American Phylarism & hypocrisy must
prepare always. Everywhere in Europe
political prisoners - men & women
come together. Not so in America. We are
under constant surveillance lest we see
our men. Even to see Alexander Berkman
I must go through all sorts of ridiculous
formalities. But that does not prevent
me from learning the facts about the treat-
ment of the men on this journey. It is
appalling. The 245 men are housed 80 men
brought to Ellis Island on the 20th. They
had not even a change of underwear
as I wrote in my letter of the 20th most
men were picked up at their work, in
mills & mines - on the streets. They were
kept in filthy jails for weeks incommunicado.
They still wear the same clothes, have been
wearing the same underwear for 8 weeks.
Imagine the torture of these poor creatures,
some of whom are not guilty even of a
social sin.
But the most incredible thing is this.
The 245 men have more than \$250,000 deposited
in cash & money bonds in banks and

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postal money. Most money represents years of
lab - years of self denial to the most vital needs
of life. They were assured that the money made
he had been on Ellis Island and that they
they would find their future. These friends
help. They received not a cent of their own
and only a few minutes reached them before
before they were thrown away. Most of
and to leave in boxes - without shoes - without
overcoats. These poor Russian peasants
caught liberty hands to help men the more
for democracy. Now, this democracy value of
them of every day. Reached their out to let
yes they have been here - here. If ever
Russia is recognized it will no doubt
subject to a great sweat to spend money
but if not. To be sure the parties furnished
us by Gungle Sam are making a great job
play of getting the names of amounts of the
departments, assuring them the money will
be forwarded. In fact they do nothing all day
they get Alexander Berdman are the job
make out 3 slips for each man - 4 1/2
slips. You will get an idea of the social
a mental attitude of these so called danger
Baldwin when I tell you many of them
do not even know the little town are
they came from. The answer of one was
Virginia, that all he knew. In fact many
speak nothing but a peasant dialect
difficult to understand even for an
educated Russian. And these are the
people rushed out of America for their
dangerous doctrine. Don't it a far
don't it pathetic how the American rulers
feel the American people.
However, whether these victims will
ever get their money or not, have are
they to live now in a country led white
for some years by the great champions
of democracy. These Russian who helped
to enrich America for years they

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1304
dreaded the slaves. When they heard the
day to the more they wanted to go back
to their beloved Motherland Russia. They
wanted to go back to the sacred soil of
Russia which meant more to them than
all they could earn in America. But no
they could not go back in freedom.
had to go as common sailors - they
were sailors at years - they were
on an old leaky ship, they were
sufficient food - and they were
and an immediate end of their suffering
in sight. So much for the justice and
humanity of the newly proclaimed
form of the capitalist freedom loving
Republic. Dark fully

Emma Goldman

Jan 5th 1920. We reached the Eng-
lish Channel this morning. We saw
land for the first time in 16 days. The
coast of England no more hospitable
than the coast of America. The relief
is expected in the morning to reach
some further destination. Most likely it will be
Lithuania or Riga. It may be Danzig.
The first Baltic port. And then what?
Who can tell. Very strange may
God know. But will to light.
We learned that many more were rounded
up for deportation. Good. What Reine-
ance said of the Germans, seems to hold
good of the Americans. They need to be
checked between their ribs with a lamp
post to wake up. But where they met
same day.

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[Letter, between 1920 and 1940 to] Emma Goldman / Emma Newman.—
1 p.; 25 × 19 cm.

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9477

To Emma Goldman

My parents named me after you
In hopes that with the name
I would receive some noble traits
Like these, that spread your fame.

And my hopes tally up with theirs
For as the years pass through
I always shall hold dear the fact
That I am named for you.

Always shall I try to do
Things like those you have done
Untill the earth's oppression cease
And liberty has won.

Emma Newman

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[Letter, 1920] Jan. 5 [en route to U.S.S.R. to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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On the Buford still. you & the
Darling. We expect the relat yesterday
day 26 and gave you man 3 letters
addressed to E. J. M. & M. A. M. A.
These were asked to have the
enclosed letters to you. The letters
two of them are for H. & H. They
to go into 3 envelopes. After I
given the letters to you, man
occurred to me that the one
Karpis dated Dec 24 should
"early go into the daily papers to
call especially, otherwise the
story of our kidnapping and
journey will be stated now
since the relat does not get
until tomorrow. I decided to
send you per Alexander Karpis
a copy of my second letter to
Karpis. In this additional note by
you say nothing to H. Karpis
the letter, just give it as it
more proper to H. W. We have
him been open for immi-
diate publication in the daily
papers. Even as well as General
the call especially. The paper
may publish it in full. I
could you a date to make
same chapter. Whatever
do, don't let H. know the letter
intended for him was to be
changed. You know Sam's young
he is. Give him the letter

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dated Dec 20th, dealing with 1802
to maybe that because I have not
gone to press yet but I would
have room for your letters. But
even so it is better to have
the story of our journey in the
dailies, than to have it in the
after, much difficulties I was
granted the right to copy you
I sent to last night, at last
was told to wait until I can
gather it, but its worth the wait
to tell you you see. Before
we are taken off here, we may
have another change to send
back letters. I will then write
at length. In afternoon we
reached the English Channel
of all goes well we'll still have
10 days to see all the sights and
beauty only know how much
money to spend. The English
looked so cold & shivering
to me. But Ben, the whole world
looks that way to me. He was
all the while been waiting for
like the others were waiting now
wages. Dear to, dearest
not worry about me. I will be
strong. My trip has been most
trying. I think of you all the time
thinking of our beloved baby. When
shall I see him again? Every
thing seems so uncertain. But
one thing is beyond all doubt, our
love for each other. But is so
much. I love you very close
yours E

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 5 [en route to U.S.S.R. to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p.; 21 × 15 cm.

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on board the U.S. Steamerport. ~~Refused~~
 my dear, dear k my. Jan 5 1920
 we did not get to our family
 resort, did we old chap? I don't
 strange how even the most capricious
 icated of us cling to hope against
 things inevitable. I thought of
 you when we were taken out
 of Ellis Island into the grey
 of an ice factory which finally
 took us to the coast. I have
 keep thinking of you ever since
 but at this moment, I am not
 going to tell you my thoughts
 so you'll have to be patient
 until I can write again.
 The inclosed was intended for
 Harry Harris. I sent the original
 to Stella, taken to some other
 people who will take the letter
 to Stella. I also sent it another
 letter, I wrote to Harris, the
 one I managed to give you.
 all agreed that we should place
 an Ellis Island. I gave the
 letters to a man here who has
 been doing things for us and
 who will be able to send them
 through the pilot to England
 & guide Reginald to America.
 Fortunately the pilot hasn't yet
 come on, so I am now able
 to write you a line or send
 the copy of Harris's letter. It
 occurred to me that it will
 be too delayed if it goes into
 Texas. It is important

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That the daily press should get
the story of how we were held
raptured. So I want you to me
the letter, as if it were written
to you & not to H. Above all
you must satisfy Stella that
she is not to say any thing
to H about the letters of Jan
27th. So make sure I'll
letter, write Stella a line
direct, otherwise there will
be too much confusion. You
know how funny H is. He'll
never forgive me if he learns
I turned a letter intended
for him over to you for
the daily press.

So day me saw land at last
the coast of England. I hope
so glad & fortuitous. Not at all
as I did to me in 1895 & 96
but the people would look, still
old & foreboding to me now
It's been an awfully hard year
the men especially had a hard
time. But you'll see about that
in my letter to H.

I called Stella yesterday. It
given that opportunity after days
of harrying & harrying was all
really perfect that will bring you
all relief. Before we are taken
off our heat I hope to write
you again. Sincerely of G.

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[Letter, 1920] Jan. 8 [en route to U.S.S.R. to Stella Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 10 p. ; 20 × 14 cm.

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On board the Buffard. Thursday. Jan. 8.
my darling. We're still at sea, ^{lost} in the sphere of the water, and our destination. Though the latter seems a little near. We hope to day left the North Sea we are at this very moment at the mouth of the Kiel canal. The Buffard appears here quite ^{new} ^{men} the route would be through the Kiel canal into the Baltic Sea to Sweden where in the end party we expect to strike Sweden next Tuesday. That will become of us then it is not known. More and more it is apparent that some arrangements must have been made to turn us over to Soviet Russia. However before we leave the ship we are preparing some letters to send ^{to} ^{to} America. Some of them will be mailed at ^{once} ^{to} ^{you} ^{personally} ^{that} ^{may} ^{not} ^{be} ^{the} ^{end} ^{of} ^{the} ^{Buffard} ^{is} ^{expected} ^{to} ^{dock} ^{at} ^{some} ^{place} ⁱⁿ ^{several} ^{weeks}. Then we will have ten or at least two weeks or more to return home. But whenever our courier will bring you the letters, I know they will find the message.
You will be confused by the too rich of letters that ought to

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reach you in about 10 days. If
only they do reach you. But I hope
the Bureau in the States sent me
day 1. I will leave Bengal on the
first ship for home. Unfortunately
I made a mistake in the address
of the B.O. wrote 36 W 29 St
it should be after reads, I mean
excuse it was not. There also
seems to be a detail in the
address. I was always under the
impression it was 245 St
you have it in my address book
245. I don't remember now
which of the two I meant. I
made a mistake the letter will
never reach you and you will
be more puzzled than ever
when you will receive only part
of the letter intended for you.
I will trust to luck. For any
rate, I am sending another copy
in case the first one does not
reach you. I am also sending
another copy of the second letter
which I meant to use, that
is the one sent via the B.O. did not
reach Harry.
This has been a weird and
strange journey - certainly the most
significant journey any one at
any time ever made. I properly
utilized it ought to make first
try. Perhaps I can write about

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I love you. I can not now^{3 4 9 2}
There is too much restlessness in
my bones and everything is so
vague. Somehow I can not tell
my thoughts. We're now 19 days
under way. It seems much, much
longer. In fact, since we
sailed at 10:30 on Dec 5-6
seem to have lived years. During
the days on deck or at night
when I can not sleep I keep
on thinking the events that I
thought were not real at all.
They are just a dream
that I will wake up and
see you my beloved still and
our research baby. Yesterday, my
sister came on. I could not get
an out of my mind. I
saw her glowing face so vividly
I thought of her story about the
boat of old Jim. It came true
already, only I am in great need
of it. Alas, it is not easy. It
is cold reality. I am not used to
it. I get used to it. But I will
find my hearing, I suppose
ones, I feel the hear old earth
under my feet. You know, I
never was much of a seer, an
orator. Strange, I should have
to be fascinated by it so, when
I always feel as helpless as an
in the water.
But for her miracle

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fact. The trip would not have
been so bad. We had a few storm
days, the day was especially bad.
But never so that one could
not keep out on deck. Un-
fortunately we are prisoners.
We can get on deck only when
we are taken, not otherwise.
The sentry at every door has
instructions to let us go only
as far as the dining room
& the Meyer. Otherwise we
are being treated with much
deference - amusing & pathetic
at the same time.
As I wrote you before dear
Lasha has so much anxiety
than we, no privacy whatever.
We are surrounded by eight people
to look after. But all that we
can make ahead. We can not
even do that. I will write more
about all this in the letter which
you will receive through our
courier. I should go with a
great deal to bring me a number
of things. If not, I will write more
about all this in the letter which
you will receive through our
courier. I should go with a
great deal to bring me a number
of things. If not, I will write more
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to know how you are happy!!
many more people departed
if I can carry out the plan
of opening a May House and
as the deportation process
is ramping up, the publically
after me left. I often accept
people's opinion on being inter-
ested. If you'd call, I'm
well, my friends moved to
Calif. Artistic venture great
success. I would understand
that more people have left
departed, that the Yampato
is in demand that all
friends continue to respond
by course Dr. K. & R. M. may
may suggest a code, any
may I shall not rest until
I hear from you direct or
indirect.

Our men have suffered
so much on the journey
met as well as rotten food
that an alarm ought to be
sent out through the Calif.
the the Jewish Press so the
new victims must be
better prepared. Not only

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with clothing & shoes ¹³⁰⁵² kept
also with food for the boat
Whichever can afford should
take a supply of sewing,
lemons, cigarettes, glass,
bread & high rubber boots.
Our men never got dry
once since they were in
another rotten vessel. What
you send out you collect
appeal for funds, so the
most needy could be supplied
with these essentials. I and
I spent a small fortune
of our money buying things
for some of the men &
the prices charged here are
terrible.

Speaking of appeals, I
sent out so many sale lists
with these people to turn in
last & money. If they had
not done so, their lives would
have been worse. I wish some of the
Americans who used to call
themselves my friends could

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19053
he reached for a previous sale
scripture. I keep on thinking
what I will do in R or what
I will live. I could never in
life work within the limited
difficulties of the State - Rolshe
must be taken up. Section
in R and writing in R
is out of the question
a year at least. Even if
I will be able to get the
same articles for R, how
much could he pay? How
many would be taken? Of
course we have some money
but work things so scarce
we don't in R buy capital
isn't going to last for
very long. It isn't as if
I had more money. We can
not do the things of the
old life but life at our
presently, it's the first time
in my life that I have been
so busy. If things were
normal in R we could
carry on our work it would
be different. But under the
present conditions we'll be
terribly handicapped.
all in all we'll have to

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depend for quite a while on
some American friends and
work. Sale of books and
translations, a possible English
theater, private sales etc
I wouldn't what success you
will have getting some help
in being out a second edit
ion of my Drama book
if you have suggested no
one up to the time this reaches
you, please see Bani.
Knapp, but you are any
other house that may be
to you. Any how darling
must depend upon you to
look after matters. Carolyn
are all very well. But the
personal interest alone
has the power to make
mountain.

You might do another thing,
see some magazines if they
have dramatic criticism
about Rousseau the Drama
in Russia. I could do that
I think I can some more
if I can get some magazines

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to take it. ~~Not to~~ ¹³⁰⁵⁵ ~~be~~ ^{it}
 Nathan of the Soviet Set. They
 always make very high
 of me they may do something
 in the matter. I never thought
 the time would come that I
 shall have to burden you
 with my economic anxieties
 but they will never expect
 the most natural thing
 in the world.
 I don't know how it will
 be when I get to Russia, my
 conditions may change. But
 now I think only of one thing
 how to continue my work
 in America. You will not
 consider my so very strange
 will you? If I fail my
 plan to return, I will go to
 Mexico & do the work from
 there. For the reason I want
 you to keep in touch with
 sales & letters when we have
 established a copper powder
 route you'll let me know
 what I have to say about
 the chances of pure living in
 it. I say well, because I too
 feel as I do about my
 work. And our team sales

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ahead the changes of an ¹³⁰ Engl
 paper or Engl newspaper
 on it. In fact any thing you
 can find out. By the way
 send him copies of all
 letters, depositions, prison
 pamphlets. By the way
 why not do with all the
 letters, you will get, as I have
 I do not want letters
 I am sure all your people
 will be glad to subscribe
 to your letters. Meanwhile
 send copies of the new
 letters to Ben R, little Ben
 Lyons, I. R. Hadu Smith.
 Ed. Natanson, Green. John
 Mahmed. Van Valisyle. Kitty
 Dr. G. I. I have written them
 about letters & said you would
 send them copies.
 It is late now and I am
 very tired. I can't tell you
 how depressing it is to be stan-
 ding still in the water when
 a jump jump away I am
 and not to be able to get off
 I'll continue tomorrow
 Good night my beloved

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 9 [en route to U.S.S.R. to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 5 p. ; 22 x 15 cm.

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on board the Buford, Jan 9 1920
 my dear K. W.
 I wrote you a few days ago. Of Alexander, however, I sent a letter which was originally intended for K. to Stella. As there is not certainty that that letter has reached its destination I am inclosing another copy of the letter. Next I have with a newer letter, of which I am to make copies for publication & for our own friends & comrades. Between the two letters you ought to be able to do a lot of publicity. You see, dear man you are not yet rid of us, even though we are far away.
 Our journey is almost at an end - at least as far as the Buford is concerned. I will give a sign of relief. Our men have been so grossly & disgracefully treated that

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I must be a miracle if all ends well. In fact, but for a B. & O. ^{only} judgement there would have been serious trouble. Everything on the boat was gotten for the men especially. But as I said, it is soon over Sunday or Monday we reach Schuyl & Ben Harriet, we hope. I

Dear boy I had so much
 I meant to write you on
 the night when we were
 kidnapped. Perhaps it is
 just as well. I was hindered
 by the chance. You know
 the old saying "No greater
 fool than an old fool".
 I might have said things
 which would have seemed
 foolish & gushy to you
 so you see how kind Uncle
 Sam was to you.

Dear Mr. Danvers and Son,
I want you to know, if
it is true, I shall cherish as
having been known together
on the battle as one of the
great events of my life. What
if you could not save

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my deportation? You have
shown me that there is at
least one American who
really & truly believes in
unfettered things. I hope
that you may also realize
that there can be no real
liberty under any form of
government. In other words
I hope our common battle
against the powers that be
will turn you to anarchism
but whether it will or
not, my appreciation of
your services, your friend-
ship & your splendid
fighting spirit will en-
dure.

Now as to the very im-
portant matter we discussed
re after-citizenship, Barack's
marriage to a native. I
hope you'd look into the
matter very thoroughly. Not
that I have a definite opi-
nion at the present. But I
would like to know. You
see, I still consider my
self young & girlish. Who
knows what I may
yet catch fire. But

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unless I can afford to leave
myself — being in no use
playing with it. So drop
into your law and plot
me know. I give lady
of the stream have not
not gone on a voyage
where her speeches by you
you might give her the
necessary information
If she decided to remain
at home, there will be
a way, I am sure to
send her word direct
I or Stella will tell you
how to reach me. One
thing I want you to
know that I am very
determined to pay you
a visit. I am sure I
know where that will be
you can do much to help
me in that line.
Ethel was quite ill
during the journey. But
she is alright. That child
eats her heart out about
Leiman. What a crime to
send such a child away
and government is the essence

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of crime. What can one expect? Rosa Luxemburg was also exp. She is almost 40, she at least has been sweet heart with Ben. Then she is more mature.

We read in a Lander newspaper which we got up officially that 4500 capt. were had been rounded up. The newspaper said, "political extremists" at least they have the proper understanding for their status.

When are you coming to visit us in Russia? Maybe it soon, dear. We'll give you a grand reception. Until then write up & keep up the great fight. Affectionately
CG CG

The Emma Goldman Papers

871111003

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 10 [en route to U.S.S.R. to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, New York?] /
Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 8 p. ; 33 x 24 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

On Board the U. S. Transport Buford, Jan. 10, 1920

Dear Comrades:-

After 20 days of anxiety and suspense as to our final destination, we have at last found out - unofficially - where we are bound. It is to be Liban, and we are due there Monday. But even this information may be but only more of the numerous rumors on board this ship, without foundation. Positively and officially we not know our destination even at this late day, but we fervently hope it will be Liban, and that there we will be turned over to Soviet Russia.

Our trip on the Buford is a most mysterious affair. No one, perhaps not even the Captain, seems to have known for a long time whither we were bound. Only when we reached the English Channel on the 15th day of our journey, and picked up the pilot, did we get an inkling of our route.

It is difficult to explain why the U. S. Government thought it necessary to veil our deportation with so much secrecy. To be sure, the Government could not afford to take us from Ellis Island in broad daylight. The condition of the first group of American deportees, most of them destitute and half naked, ~~among~~ among them a number who had been rushed to Ellis Island direct from the jails of Buffalo, Detroit, Youngstown, Bridgeport etc., and arrived only a few hours before their deportation, would have aroused the indignation of even the most callous American citizen. The Government, which waxed so indignant over the German atrocities in ^{Belgium} ~~Belgium~~, did not dare let the people see that it was committing similar atrocities at home, on people more helpless and defenceless than the Belgians were. It did not dare. Therefore our kidnapping

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in the dead of night, in mad haste, with a military force armed for murder and bloodshed at the least provocation.

However, if the secrecy had any justification till we reached the open sea, it surely had none whatever since we entered the Atlantic. Unless, of course, the U. S. Government is anxious to hide from the world the conditions which the first group of American political refugees were forced to endure during the entire journey, conditions that should shame every American who still has some sense of justice and liberty. It is for this reason that we want to make the facts known to you, dear comrades and friends, and to all liberty-loving people in America.

With the usual hypocrisy which makes "ladies first" one of the American slogans, the three women politicals on board were made much of. They were given a cabin to themselves, were fed in the officers' dining room - a very doubtful compliment, by the way - and had the attention of the entire crew. They were shown the kindness more irritating and insulting than outright brutality.

But the treatment of the men is simply harrowing. Cattle are placed in no worse quarters than the cabins assigned to the 245 political refugees. The Buford is an old leaky tub, built in 1885, repaired in 1900, and now in her dotage. The mildest weather even is too much for the old lady. The waves are almost continually sweeping all the decks, and the water flooding the cabins. During the heavy weather every spot on the Buford, including the officers' dining room, was thoroughly washed by the sea. For 20 days the men were drenched when on deck, walked in two inches of water in their cabins, and at night slept in wet bunks covered with dripping blankets.

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-3-

The food, none too good even in the salon, is abominable as served to the men. The bread is sour dough, the soup apparently made of salt sea water, the meat rancid. The bakery and kitchen are stuffy and positively filthy.

The Buford has a well equipped hospital, and the Chief Physician is a fairly decent man. But for some mysterious reason it is almost impossible to get a sick man to the hospital. Some of the politicals here were deathly ~~sick~~ ill, not only with sea sickness, but in high fever due to the dampness ~~with~~ and their lack of underwear or other warm clothing. The assistant doctor prescribe only pills, and never take a man to the hospital without the Chief doctor's orders. But it is most difficult to reach the chief doctor. One of the men on board, who suffers from an ulcerated stomach and who was long in the hospital at Ellis Island, tried repeatedly but failed to get to the hospital. Another man was lying five days in bed with an injured knee-cap, but the young doctor refused to order him to the hospital. He was showing signs of paralysis before they finally reported the case to the Chief Doctor who at once saw the serious condition of the man and ordered him to the hospital. In short, the only fit place on the Buford is apparently kept for show and is inaccessible to our sick comrades.

Very characteristic of the whole situation is the fact that there are only 37 trunks aboard for the 248 political ~~and~~ deportees. The great majority of the men on the Buford were rushed out of the country without even a change of clothing. They were kept in the dark as to the time of their deportation, and assured that they would be given plenty of time to prepare. The deportation papers for most of them had not even reached their

The Emma Goldman Papers

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-3- A

attorneys when they were taken away from Ellis Island, at 4:20 A.M.,
December 21st, 1919. Some of these refugees were preparing to be
released on bail; others were held incommunicado in the jails of
various cities. Then, without notice of even an hour, they were
packed into trains and carried to Ellis Island. The men from San
Francisco, Detroit, Buffalo, Pittsburg, Fairmont (W.Va.) Baltimore,
Hartford, Bridgeport etc. arrived at Ellis Island Saturday night,
without an opportunity having been given them to communicate with their
friends, or even with their attorneys. They came practically without
any baggage. Some men had been arrested at their work benches, in
their working clothes, and arrived at Ellis Island in that condition.
Frantically they all began sending telegrams to their friends, calling
for their personal effects and funds. But even before their wires
could reach their friends, they were already on the Buford, speeding
they knew not where.

Immediately, the authorities at Ellis Island,
though permitting and accepting the telegrams of the departed, on
Saturday, December 20th, ~~made this statement that they~~
~~one of the women received a wire on Monday after the ship had gone.~~
Perhaps others received wires, I do not know. Some of the friends
in Hartford received wires — but the ship had gone.

Aboard the ship, bound on a long journey to unknown shores,
chilled to the bone and sleeping in bunks drenched by every breath of
the ocean, the men were in a pitiable condition. We collected
whatever things those having trunks could spare, even at great sacrifice
of personal comfort. Then the committee in charge distributed underwear,
shoes, caps, overcoats, etc. to those in greatest need. Though the
donations were very generous, still even now the lack especially of
shoes and warm overcoats is sadly felt. As a result of the insufficient

The Emma Goldman Papers

871111003

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 10 [en route to U.S.S.R. to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, New York?] /
Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 8 p. ; 33 x 24 cm.
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clothing, the poor food and fearfully close and ill smelling quarters, most of the men suffer from severe colds, chills and rheumatism. Our good American democracy refused them even an opportunity to take their personal effects, and deliberately robbed them of the few hard-earned dollars ^{had} they saved by year-long toil and strict economy. The list prepared by the Committee, a copy of which was turned over to the representative of the Immigration Department on the Buford (Mr. Berkshire), shows that \$45,470.39 in Postal and Bank Savings, and in pay due, was left by the deportees in the United States.

Thus has the great United States Government treated the men against whom no crime was charged, but who were merely accused of entertaining ideals of human brotherhood. Not even at the ~~mm~~ height of the war did America treat actual alien enemies with such utter barbarity.

May this fearful journey soon be at an end, with all its physical pain and mental misery, its torture of uncertainty and the nerve-racking military surveillance. At this writing we are at anchor in the Kiel Bay, directly opposite the city of Kiel, with the Torpedo Boat Destroyer Ballard, U.S.S. 267, our convoy, alongside of the Buford. The boilers of this boat have sprung a serious leak. It will require more than 2 days to repair the damage. Then to Baltic Sea, and to Libau, we earnestly hope.

Dear friends and comrades, we write this because we want you, and the public at large, to know the facts. There will be many more victims to follow us, to tread the same Golgotha road. In a copy of a wireless from London, ~~transmitted by the~~ received by the Buford and which we also managed to see, we read that 4,500 more "political extremists" had been rounded up in our dear free America. We want you to see to it that they, at least, and those to follow

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them, like the endless Siberian chain of the Czar-exiled, should be spared some of the hardships that were our on this journey. Surely you can make yourself heard in some vital manner, with the demand that America do not compete with the defunct Russian autocracy in her treatment of political protestants. Demand that future deportees be given an opportunity to supply themselves with the necessary warm clothing and some food for existence in famished Russia. Demand that the Government cease robbing them of their savings, and that it provide decent transportation and treatment during this terribly long voyage. It is the least America can do for those who during years of untold suffering and work have helped to produce her wealth and comforts.

But you can do more than that, dear friends. You can organize relief work for those who have no means of their own. You can not, you must not, permit them to be torn out of their adopted land, root and branch, kidnapped from their families, robbed of their loved ones, and sent away in tatters into the open ocean. Remember, dear friends, silence is next to consent. If you do not voice your protest, if you do not come to the rescue of the victims of the American official White Terror, the blame will also be yours. You cannot afford to be a party to such wanton outrage.

Yesterday we were passing through the Kiel Canal. On both sides stretches of fine land with beautiful villas and neat clean-looking homesteads. Five years of carnage have left their indelible mark. The blood shed has been washed away, but the hand of death is still visible, ^{appalling,} ~~appalling,~~ paralyzing.

The misery of Germany, the woe of the world, was expressed in a few words by the Quartermaster of the Canal who came

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on board the Buford. "You are surprised at the stillness", he said. "Well, we are being starved to death by the kindness of the powers who set out to make the world safe for democracy. We are not yet dead, but we are so faint we cannot cry out." But the Quartermaster does not know that the dead come back to life. Wee, then, when Resurrection strikes!

Poor Russia, too, bled and starved, blockaded and besieged, is not yet dead. But she is still. She also is being fed on the kindness and generosity of the governmental world saviors. And yet she is not quite still. Faint in body, yet strong in spirit, Russia defies the world of greed and sham, and holds her own against the combined power of the international conspiracy of murder and robbery. Russia, the incarnation of a flaming ideal, the inspiration of the New Day.

A few more days, and we shall touch the soil hallowed by the martyrdom and heroism of her people! In wonder and awe we await the moment when we shall behold great Russia, the invincible, the unconquerable.

Dear friends, we are not forgetting the land and the people we have left behind. We know that however insignificant our deportation and trials may be in the universal scheme of things, our fate is yet to make history in the annals of the great human struggle for liberty. Nothing we ourselves might have done could have advanced the final settlement between the oppressed and the oppressors as the introduction of deportation and exile in America. Just as the first Russian refugees and exiles were the harbingers of the destruction of Czarism in Russia, so will our deportation mark the final fall of American Czarism. The mystery ship on the U. S. Transport Buford of the first 248 political refugees from America may get

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prove to be the leaven to quicken the spirit and wake the energies
of the American people for the coming Social Revolution.

Signed

Emma Goldman

Alexander Berkman

[Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman]. — 6 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

9. 10. Comrades - After 20 days of anxiety & suspense as to our final destination, we have at last found out, unofficially, where we are due to be. Litan, and we are due there Monday. But even this information may be one of the numerous rumors on board this ship, without foundation. Officially we do not know our destination even at this late day, but we fervently hope it may be Litan, & that therefore, while we turned over to Soviet Russia.

[illegible]

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With the usual hypocrisy that marked some of the American
 legends, - that of "Ladies first", in this instance - much was done for
 the three women political exiles. They had a cabin to themselves, were fed
 in the officers' dining room - a question of the Port, by the way - and had
 the attention of the entire crew. In other words, they were shown the same
 tender-hearted jokers show their prisoners - a kindness more insidious
 - falling than outright brutality.

But the treatment of the men was simply harrowing. Cattle
were never placed in worse quarters than the cabins assigned to the
practical refugees. The kitchen is an old leady tub, built in 1885
and 1890. The weather even is too much
for the kitchen. The men are constantly suffering all the
time. The kitchen is a place of suffering. The men are
suffering all the time. The kitchen is a place of suffering.

The first thing I noticed
 when I stepped out of the
 plane was the cold. The
 air was crisp and clear,
 a stark contrast to the
 humid heat of the tropics.
 I had heard that the
 weather was perfect, but
 I didn't realize it would
 be so different. The
 sun was shining brightly,
 and the sky was a deep
 blue. It was a beautiful
 sight, and I felt like I
 had reached a new world.
 The first thing I did was
 to go to the beach. The
 sand was soft and white,
 and the water was a
 beautiful turquoise. I
 had heard that the beach
 was perfect, and I was
 not disappointed. The
 sun was shining brightly,
 and the sky was a deep
 blue. It was a beautiful
 sight, and I felt like I
 had reached a new world.

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1) I was in custody, I could not leave, at Ellis Island, at 4:00 p.m. on December 16, 1919. Some were just preparing to go out on bail, in accordance with Government promises. Others had been held incommunicado for 6 to 8 weeks in the jails. (Presumably in the Ellis Island, with some San Francisco, Portland, Portland, Portland (W. Va.) with some, Hartford, Portland, etc., and Ellis Island. Some were in custody. They were deported the same way, without even the opportunity of communicating with their attorneys or friends. Some came without any baggage; others had been robbed of their belongings, without even a coat. Practically they began sending wires to friends for personal effects. But even before their wires could reach their destinations they were on the Buford. Inevitably, though their wires were of special, permitted & accepted, none were sent. Aboard the ship, found on a long journey to Russia, the deportees were in a pitiable condition. The whatever things those having friends could send, even at the expense of personal comfort, and the volunteers came to change distributed the underwear, shoes, hats, coats, socks, etc. in greatest need. Though the donations were more than still even now the lack of certain articles of clothing, especially of shoes & overcoats, is sadly felt. As a result of different clothing, poor food, & the perfectly clean, cold, and dark, most of the men are ill. One just arrived with a fever on by locomotive to become their first aid. The climate by robbing them of the heat earned by their years of toil & severe economy. The last I prepared Committee, a copy of which I turned over, by his special permission, labor left representation on the Buford. The Buford was left by the deportees in America.

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The goods belonging to men on the torpedo boat were given to advise
the Government about the money they left behind.

Thus has the great U.S. Government treated men against
whom no crime was charged and who were merely accused of in-
tentive deeds of human brotherhood. Not even at the height of the
war did America treat actual alien enemies with such utter
barbarity.

May this fearful journey soon be at an end, with all
its physical pain & mental misery, its torture of uncertainty & the never-
ending military surveillance. At this writing, January 10th, we are
in the Kish Bay, with the torpedo boat destroyer (Bath)
No. 267, alongside as our "escort", probably in the next few
days. Incidentally it may be remarked that during the whole
of our voyage we have succeeded in gaining the friendship of
the majority of the soldiers on the Bath.

Dear friends, we write this letter to inform
American people of the circumstances of our journey.
There will be many more victims of this
policy of repression & imprisonment that has been put
into effect in our dear free America. We must
at least be spared some of the hardships of
this journey.

Surely the government should be given the opportunity to
effect a change in its methods. The government
should be given the opportunity to
do something to ease the suffering of
the people. The government should
provide for those who are suffering
during the long sea voyage. The
government should provide for those who
are suffering from the lack of
wealth & comforts.

And you can do more than the government can
for those who have no means of support. You can
not, permit them to be taken out of the country.

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I am content. If you do not raise your protest hands if you
are come to the rescue of the victims of the official American
White Terror, the blame for the results will hit the ground.
cannot afford to be a party to such wanton outrages.

Yesterday all day we have been were passing through
the Kiel Canal. On both sides stretched of rock land dotted with
beautiful villas. Here & there a farm. Over all lay the terrible
death. Not a human in sight. Five years of war have left
their indelible mark. The blood left lying about the fields
has been washed away.

paralyzing
expressed by the
the world.

the world.

the world.

the world.

the world.

the world.

the world.

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6) no introduction of ~~refugees~~ ^{exiles} in America -
just as the first Russian refugees were the harbingers of the de-
struction of Czarism in Russia, so will ^{our} deportation of
~~the first group of political exiles on the Buford~~ mark the final
downfall of American Czarism. The mystery trip of
the first 249 political refugees from America may yet
prove the heaven which shall quicken the spirit and
waken the energy of the American people for the coming
Social Revolution.

(Signed)

T. Buford

Jan. 10, 1920

J. M. St.

My dear friend,

I have just received your letter of the 7th.

Thank you very much for the interest and sympathy.

I am, indeed, very glad to hear of this letter.

Also as a result of this letter.

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[Letter] 1920 Jan. 12 [en route to U.S.S.R. to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 20 x 14 cm.

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still on board the Buford. Jan 12th 1920
Darling, I hope you a few days ago
saying we'll be in there in two
days. But here it is the 12th and we
are still standing still. The Buford
got so badly damaged that it had
to lay off for repairs. We may be
here until Saturday or go to
morrow. Everything is so uncertain
here. The letter I wrote you is
still with me. It will be mailed
only when the boat repairs get
worse which may not be for
weeks. And then it may be another
2 weeks or more before the
will be brought you. The man
who will bring you this has
been exceedingly kind and
useful to us. He has carried
letters from I to me & mine
to you all these weeks. You
see I & I are separated, & the
three women are separated
from the men. I can see I only
once in a great while & only
in the presence of a guard.
So we corresponded every day.
One man has been most
valuable.

Then he helped us with our
letters which were smuggled off
the ship in the official bags
of letters given to the consular
that we should reach

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you by Saturday. I hope they
do. I wrote you ⁵⁸⁶ ~~August~~ ⁵⁸⁶ ~~last~~,
about a ⁵⁸⁶ ~~Memorandum~~ ⁵⁸⁶ ~~also~~ ⁵⁸⁶ ~~about~~
Alexander H. Men ⁵⁸⁶ ~~and~~ ⁵⁸⁶ ~~we~~ ⁵⁸⁶ ~~at~~ ⁵⁸⁶ ~~the~~
I thought I'd ⁵⁸⁶ ~~write~~ ⁵⁸⁶ ~~you~~ ⁵⁸⁶ ~~about~~
some of the letters, well
above. I sent you letters for
it is another report was in
ended for him but which I
directed it to use for gen
eral publicity. I am sending
you copies of these letters &
a new letter to our comrades
you will see the letters are
rather long, but the contents
are of almost importance
We want our people to know
all about our trip and the
conditions under which we
have been living since our
departure. We have arranged
the letter in a way that part
of it can be used for general
publicity. You & I & H W will
be able to judge what to choose
you will find a seeming dis
crepancy in the amounts of
money left by our men.

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The reason for it is that it
only a small group of people
to let the U.S. Government collect
these moneys. 45 470 000. The
others do not trust the Govt.
They have these moneys in
private banks & will save
them collected through the
family. You may find that
the article is a great note
to come back to our man,
he has of course received
considerable money from us
but he has large expenditure
and is working all day long.
Want you to give him 20
that is for the delivery of
everything is well give you
3 large envelopes, containing
certain letters, new letters
letters to W. Mass. Rose B.
De laun - our old friends R.
Bishop & some others I will
mention later. Receive him
very kindly. I told him to
phone you, to make sure
you go in. He will tell you
all about our experiences.
We got a lot of useful stuff
from him, changes & other
things & much waiting on

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white on coat. Did go, I said
He gave me a letter for you
of the letter he will mail
from you. He will
Read the letter & write back
B. You'll understand what
we want. It may also be
well to see our personally
signed one to get down to
help us make a way to reach
us. We are the other David
will see how to reach you
after we reach Soviet. On
to a man may tell you
days to take us. He is
at waiting months without
word from you in the last
est thing to leave. As I
will be without word from
you until this reaches you
to everything must be done
to get a call. Perhaps some
day. It will be best to use
the name I gave you in
the letter which will precede
this. Sanya Kalomiravna
It is a nick name I used
to have for me in our
young & windy days. We
will be desperately anxious

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[Letter 1920] Jan. 13 - 14 [en route to U.S.S.R. to Stella Ballantine, New York] /
E[mma Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 20 x 14 cm.

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Thursday eve. Jan 13/12. 13057
 I'm sorry we're going at last. Left
 the West coast about 2 P.M. we're
 in Swedish water now. It re-
 minds me of dear Carl. Am writing
 him to night. A letter mailed
 here from London may reach
 him more easily than from
 America. He told me, he may be
 able to reach us in Russia
 any way. I am writing him.
 What so much to reach
 same one in England, Tom
 Mann, Turner or Keck. I
 could so easily have gotten
 a letter to him through the
 English post. I discovered
 much to my distress that
 I have no ones address
 in England. In fact a
 lot of my addresses are
 missing & some of them
 you guessed for me can
 not be deciphered. Bayard,
 for instance. Neither
 or I can make out, which
 it is 2-27 or 21, I am
 damn it. Heu, not to have
 any European addresses
 England, France Italy

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880127001

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The first letter you ^{will} write me, do not fail to include some addresses. Got Mesca to give you Italian addresses. Read out Bragg andreyed in where Manate is. ¹²⁰⁵⁸ Marge or Brian must know Steffen's whereabouts. Then, Mark has Roscoe's address in Germany, or Grossman's. He must have a European address for emergency. I go ~~with~~ a ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~bring~~ addresses, or a map send them to us from Italy. No one was allowed on board to Kiel except one hell dog he brought back, never that he made is only 2 cuts of things very cheap. Certainly not for the poor Germans. But on American money some things are ridiculous. The war dearest gloves, I am sending you cost 45. I couldn't resist to give the boy get me a pair for my darling. You'll look lovely in them, with your

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yellow dress. We were ¹⁷⁵⁰terrible
hungry and chocolate. We gave
about 7 tablets or 24 large
bars for medical. He had
paid 464 marks. He had
little ones in Germany who
may never get a bit of sweets
We had a wonderful experience
here. Dr. Buford had
to have some repairs so
that he was enslaved and
out of good Germans sent several
at 100 marks in a large.
The letter was right under
my nose. I knew the
man a note telling them
who we are so would they
take a letter to the "Republik"
the Independent Socialist
paper. They answered yes
to 19 would 2 pages in per
man, giving the balance part
of our deportation, why we
were deported. The conditions
we left behind, the 1920
Political prisoners were only
among them language being
in prison. The life of
action in America etc. I
ended up by an appeal

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1306
to be German appeal to profit
by the glowing example of
social Russia & to show
the American workers that
they too can change and
then fundamentally. I in-
closed the letter in an envelope
& just some receipt for it
then Bureau of and the large
the men got it, we of the
been coming to read it, and
when the large pulled
out they gave 3 pieces for
the Political department from
America & the surprise
Revolutionary. It was too
wonderful. Dearest, you
might add this episode
to your letter. Our people
will be wild with joy.
Only the spirit of un-
selfishness can not be destroyed
not even by war.
To come then to the
man who will bring you
then, I want you to ask
him to deliver. He will
have much to tell you
then give him a copy
of my essays, I think

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13061
 pamphlets if you have any
 & a book of the new edition
 is out. Hope all the people
 very kind to him. I can't
 tell you how much regard
 helped us. He is really our
 whole material, a most
 interesting chap. Of course
 he is to meet us.
 I will add more before
 we reach Sicily.
 Good night my

love.
 Wed. Jan 14th.
 Sweetheart. We heard 2 conflicting
 reports to day. One of the "Herald"
 that we are not going to Sicily
 because things are unpleasant
 there" which means fighting, I
 suppose. The other, from the
 State Dept man who is in charge
 of our transportation that we
 will reach Sicily Friday. Will
 there be not by an American Repre-
 sentative of the State Dept who will
 take us to the first Soviet state
 that we are to be given salu-
 tations for 5 days. I don't
 know where to believe...

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But whether Spain or ¹³⁰ Rega
his journey will soon be at
an end and we will be able
to turn another leaf. But it may
be as Kipling said: "likely not
so good." What ever it is it
will be a change from his
dreadful trip.
We have associated these
men as deers. They are evidently
not allowed to speak to us
They will bring the signs
of the officials, naturally
you'll be able to judge when
you read it. You can then
correct these by making
I know that they did not
talk to our men as to us
I got told of one of the news
papers men as he passed
me on deck. I said, "I hope
you'll talk to the déportees
so the American people should
get both sides." I suppose
well said that. But so far
he has not talked to the

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men are for us. I don't ^{3.63} think
they'll let him. You can't be
making any way easily in being
participated. The October was expected
recent. Surely, he kept away
the day he told me he
demanded for his friends
ness. He said I approached
the one decent officer.
as to the soldiers no one
was allowed to come near
us for a while. The soldiers
couldn't be kept away. They
hang around our cabin all
the time eager to ask ques-
tions. They are terribly de-
graded. Most of them are
in the day of violence, being
taken advantage of by the
bad taking some literature
from us. Of course, we couldn't
have known that we will not
be searched. Even our trunks
were only opened & looked at
on top. I will tell you I
would inform the next hodge
of people, that they can take
almost anything. I'll give
some of the most dependable
some literature. The preparedness

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13064
Quartermaster, Postmaster, Dispensary,
the Post Office, and the
the soldiers on board the
ship. Nothing can pay you
for our men. But they must
be instructed to be careful
not to get the soldiers in
trouble
speaking of the next badge
there surely will be among
them some of our closest
comrades. You are to get to
see them, without tapping or
tugging at them, you are along
they'll be glad to do it. I
mean if they can't come
I enclose 2 letters and 2
one and mine. Be sure they
could all go in one trunk
by sending up a supply
every time a bunch of
outlet to make more of each
for us to get along in
If you can not always
that be will entirely, I
can get you wholesale rates,
think of what that would

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13-65 X
mean way darling, I fear
get to tell you that Betsy made
a very good job. Betsy made
best of it and pulled some
more loose work in, very
loose as well as last, today.
I suppose he changed at
last, let me know.
Dearest I hope you can
disappear to business place
and get something in that
stock. I don't invest some
thing of my money you have
for me. It will be worth
everything for you to have
your own place, besides it
is sure to rise in value.
I wonder how dear Peggy
is getting along with the
play. It must be an awful
strain on her. I hope her
nearly will have no more
down her system but hope
of you well. Well.
I wonder how Minnie
is getting along, if she has
something to do. It would
be terrible today
in Reno. When you write

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter 1920] Jan. 13 - 14 [en route to U.S.S.R. to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 20 × 14 cm.

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13066
13066
I am glad to see my love. And
our children. I wish she would
just be right together. I think
it is a pity she did not reply
to you. I wrote her. The
letter will be mailed from
New York.

Dearest be sure to send
Alice Stone Blackwell a copy
of our letter & my personal
regards. I have written quite
a number of our friends
but of course I can not
write everybody. Send old
Sam Fickler & everybody
our letters.

Dearest mine, not knowing
how soon I will be able to
reach you again, I could
be writing indefinitely.
But I really have covered
every thing. When you see
Valdo Deane tell him I love
our America most interesting
and tell Raydell but

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for her with a new faith in the
theory system, which I believe
to be unfortunate I think
~~more~~ more you ever a child
splendid. I can't see
how anyone can interfere
for the theory system which
in the past should a
camouflage. Tell him I
said he will appreciate
the socialist & mechanical
systems of that system
if he'll talk to your father
for instance, or to see
or many other well known
children.

Remember me affectionately
to Elizabeth Hyman & Carla
to the Crystal Eastman
to the Harbasse, to Leonard
Case & Max & all mother
yours. In the heart of you
I am my respected sister
to dear Ed & me, I wish I
had her address. In fact
to all our friends. Write
Kate & love to send I see
our letter. I do so hope she
will be out next to her readers

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you. And dear splendid¹³⁰
Eugene D. love to him
and dear, dear little Mally
how terrible she should say
you wrote in Jefferson. Much
love & dear to her. Send her
our letter. I am a Cliveau
came out in March. You
must write her as send
her my love. There are
so many I want to remember
But you know Ben all
you will let her, & now
how we are, at least so
far.
Tomorrow maybe our last
night. I want to keep this
to the last, to add a line
dearling precious, you don't
know how hard the day
is of not being able
to see you again soon
and see only every day
or Teddy. I embrace you all
Loretta & you.
Good night again.

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[Letter, 1920] Jan. 15 [en route to U.S.S.R. to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 20 × 14 cm.

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Thursday Jan 15 1920
 Darling! This is supposed to be
 our last night here. The latest in-
 formation is that we're not going
 to leave at all since fighting
 here now. We're reading off
 some small part of Finland
 from here we're to be taken
 direct by rail to Petrograd
 normally that distance is cover-
 ed in 9 hours. But even
 if it were 24 it were too
 wonderful to be true. However
 this is my last chance to write
 as I may not get another to
 reach my carrier.
 I have the solemn privilege
 of the main guy of the Dept of
 Labor who was at the Dept of
 our train, pilotage and who
 was very decent, that he would
 send my cable by wireless
 just as soon as we are
 deposited on Soviet soil
 he returns to the Bedford. I
 all goes well, the cable ought
 to reach you Sunday or Monday.
 I don't care what he
 will be, to put you, I expect
 our friends at ease 2, while

The Emma Goldman Papers

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dark. a great deal.
 The news-paper men actually
 interviewed, Sasha. Believe
 me they got same story but
 they will probably bring
 nothing. Well, you'll get your
 story. Don't publicity your
 myself add something out
 of this to myself.
 Darling, now that the journey
 is almost over, I just
 wonder how we survived
 it. It was headful - the
 surveillance. He constantly
 watch & he is certainly
 and what next? My life
 is certainly full of sur-
 prises. Well, what ever
 the future brings, I only
 hope I may reach my
 spirit to meet it.
 Darling, darling, I stretch
 out my arms across the
 sea, to clasp you to my
 heart. I long for you

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and our own legacy, I long
for the land that has made
me suffer so. Have I not
also known love and
joy here? and the work
which I have built up
so patiently and painfully
and the friends I made?
I have been very rich
in spite of all. Why then
should I not long to
for what I have left
behind?

Give my love to all
dear old Ballou Hall, Dr.
Goldwater & Robinson,
little Dorothy Miller, old
dear Mrs. Stulman
Palya, Mida & Sarah
I hope you will in
form all our friends
of our safe arrival
I kiss you passionately
& devotedly. Yours E
over

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13072
one of the soldiers has just
offered to take a line to
me so I am sending a
separate letter through him
Give him some literature
dearest, the Department
pamphlets if you have
nothing else.
Some of the soldiers were
remarkable. It would be
taken very little to get
them on our side.

One more kiss and
say one for Teddy &
loads of kisses for my
own precious I am
cf

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930011

[Letter, 1920] Jan. 16 [Hangö] Finland [to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 14 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Jan 16th.
Dearest, dearest
just rec'd Ben
land, don't know the
name of the town
Bearex will tell
you. Maybe taken
off to night or early
in the morning
Ben by rail to Peter-
grad.

Dearest have arranged
with Bearex to write
to his address — at
least the first few
letters. He'll deliver
of course you'll
reimburse him

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930011

[Letter, 1920] Jan. 16 [Hangö] Finland [to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

14790
He tells me if several
hedge of deportees,
are sent away, he
could go along to
help them. Tell him to
put it up to the
hunch. Bearce is
most reliable. He
could leave after a
time or have sent
up. But some one
of our people will
have to bring it to
us, as he couldn't
go to Russia. He
may make arrange-
ments for that later.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1920 Jan. 16, Hangö, Finland to Frank Harris, New York (newspaper transcript)] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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June 28 - Nov. 28 - 20

THE SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER: :

'I Still Love America,' Writes Emma Goldman

Describes Conditions in Land of Soviets

Advises Friend Not to Undertake
Trip to Russia Because of
the Want There.

THE PRISON SHIP.

"We were four weeks on that floating prison liner. Some time ago there was moored in the Hudson an old English convict ship. I used to see it on my walks on Riverside Drive. How far was the thought from me that I myself would be forced to go on a convict ship—that such a thing would be introduced in America in the year 1919! But the reality is always wilder than the wildest imaginings. It is amazing how much the human animal can endure when forced to meet reality.

"There were sentries at our cabin door night and day, sentries and secret service men at our head on deck. Watched always. I cannot tell you how depressing, how demoralizing of body and spirit, surveillance is. The contrast, especially between the ocean—huge, majestic, glorious, and the humans who were sent to watch us—how ridiculous, how puny they seemed!

"I STILL LOVE AMERICA."

"Nothing I have endured for any ideal in the intellectual, spiritual desert that has thrust me out has quite convinced me of the sheer beauty of that ideal as these four weeks on our floating prison. The pain of it, the conflict, the emotions that pulled me back to that desert, America, whose soil I have trodden and plowed and sown. You see I still love America. I love her for the Negro, awe-inspiring; for the Rockies, forbidding and majestic; the canyons, mysterious and fascinating; California, so lavish in floral beauty. Above all, I love America, who humors and struggles for freedom.

"Do you know that little German refrain: 'Wo Menschen singen lässt Euch nicht, schlechte menschen haben keine Lieder'? No other people in all the world could have kept up that song under such stress and sufferings as the Russians who came back with us, departed. I wonder whether that does not explain the triumph of Russia of the last two and a half years—a triumph in the face of almost universal opposition? Her music, more than Bolshevism, strikes into the hearts of even the soldiers sent to crush her. You should have heard our sentries hum Russian songs—the sentries who were to kill us at the least provocation! A few weeks longer and they would have organized soldiers' councils. What an infectious element in the struggle for freedom, expressed in terms of music!

"I must close. What I have written here will read pale and inadequate.

"Thankfully,
"E. G."

The Emma Goldman Papers

870717009

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 16, Hangö Fin[land to Frank] Harris, [New York (government transcript)] / Emma Goldman. — 5 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

J. J. J. J.

at the Finnish port, Hangö. Still on board the BUFORD. Jan. 16, 1920.

My dear Mr. Harris:

This is to be our last night on our floating prison. We are to be put on trains in the morning and sent direct to Petrograd. There have been so many changes in our route but we dare not be too sanguine, that this is to be the last and final disposition. Only two days ago we were leaving for Libau. Then we learned that fierce fighting was taking place there between the Letts and the Bolsheviks and that Uncle Sam being so furiously solicitous about our safety, the BUFORD will sail for some Finnish port. Here we are docked at last. Tomorrow we're to see Soviet pad; it all seems too wonderful to be true.

I wrote you at length at Ellis Island. Alas, there was no way of getting the letter to you. We were taken out unexpectedly at 4:20 a. m. Sunday, December 21st, so there was no way of reaching you. The letter went ten days ago unofficially in the official mail bag taken off by the English pilots some where near Dover. From there I hope it made its way to the States. I sent the letter to some one whose name is less conspicuous than yours. By the time my letter will reach its destination it will have made a trip as mysterious and roundabout as we have.

Four weeks on a floating prison. Some time ago there was an old English convict ship on the Hudson. I used to see it on my walks on Riverside Drive. How far was the thought from me that I, myself, would be forced to go on a convict ship -- that such a thing would be introduced in America in the year 1919. But the reality is always wilder than the wildest imaginings. It is

amazing

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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measuring how much the human animal can endure when forced to meet reality. Four weeks on a floating prison ; sentinels at our cabin doors night and day - sentries and secret service men at our heels on deck. Watched always. I cannot tell you how depressing, how humiliating of body and spirit surveillance was. The contrast - especially between the ocean - huge, majestic, glorious, and the humans who were set to watch us. How ridiculous! How puny they seemed. One violent outbreak of the sea and the old tottering BUFORD with her force of military and civilian cycofants would have been swallowed up. Never did man with all his stupidity - his inflated importance, seem quite so utterly stupid to me. In fact, the whole performance, beginning with our kidnapping from Ellis Island - our being rushed to the BUFORD in secrecy and under cover of night - the military display during our entire journey - the conspiracy of silence as to our destination, were really cheap melodrama stupidly staged. How frail the machinery of Government if it has to employ such expedients to save itself from political dissention.

After we left the Kiel Harbor two American newspaper men came on board - an Associated Press man and one from the United Press. They asked me what I thought about our deportation. I told them aside from the cruel aspect of tearing people who lived in the country a life time from their home and hearth, our deportation was utterly futile and feebish as measures of checking ideas. I added that the introduction of deportation in American will play the same part played in Russia by exile. The tramp of the legion eventually turned into the song of the greatest revolution. The tramp of the exiled legions now close, now distant, beat upon the consciousness

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 16, Hangö Fin[land to Frank] Harris, [New York (government transcript)] / Emma Goldman. — 5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
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- 1 -

consciousness of the Russian people until they could stand no more. The revolution was the answer. Is it hoping too much when I expect our deportation to prove just such a spiritual factor? Our forced exile - may it not heat upon the consciousness of the Russian people until they too rise en masse? It is not true that the time of miracles has passed. New Russia, is she not the miracle come true? and soon we, the first exiles from America shall behold the miracle. Soon we shall see with our own eyes the wonder of a people starved, famished, besieged by the whole world yet holding on doggedly to an ideal. I feel like my forebearer must have felt on entering the sacred temple - humble and in awe.

Our trip was very hard and trying. But it was also a marvelous adventure. Is not all great experience fraught with pain? One must not expect to get to the bottom of the goblet without draining the last drop, used to be a slogan of an old Irish peasant nurse of mine. What wisdom! I did not know then that the more one drives of the gold of idealism, the farther the bottom recedes. I have learned the great truth in the four weeks on the BUFOKD. This too I have learned, that the ideal which doesn't retain its lure and charm, which doesn't increase the great hunger for it, which does not constantly gain in fervor, - so that one would gladly die for it a thousand deaths, because by it and through it one lives, and a thousand lives is like love crusted by the first embrace of the lover - without depth and vitality. Nothing I have endured for my ideal in the intellectual, spiritual desert that has thrust me out, has quite convinced me of the beauty of that ideal than these four weeks on our floating prison. The

pain

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- 4 -

pain of it, the conflicting emotions that pulled me back to that desert, to America, whose soil I have broken and ploughed and sown; and the new land - the Russia of mine. Hard days! For you see I still love America. I love her for the Niagara, awe-inspiring; for the Rockies, forbidding and majestic; the Canaries - mysterious and fascinating; -- California so laden in floral beauty. Above all I love America who hungers and struggles for freedom. And with all dear Wal---? I shall always, so long as the sun does not exclude you I shall not exclude you.

Our people, tried to the breaking point by wretched conditions on board - rotten food - flooded cabins - wet clothes and beds -

not to speak of the everlasting military surveillance, have borne up wonderfully. You should have heard them sing while they were on deck shivering with cold. Do you know that little German refrain:

"No Menschen singen laest noch nieder, schlechte Menschen haben keine Lieder." No other people in all the world could have kept up their song under such stress and suffering as the Russians.

I wonder whether that does not explain the triumph of Russia of the last two and a half years - a triumph in the face of almost universal opposition. Her music, more than Bolshevikism, strikes

into the hearts even of the soldiers sent to crush her. You should have heard our sentries hum Russian songs - the sentries who were to kill us at the least provocation. A few weeks longer and they would have organized soldiers' councils. What an infectious element is the struggle for freedom expressed in terms of music.

I must close. What I have written here with red, pale and inadequate, I must ask you to make allowance for the unusual circumstance, my restlessness of spirit on these last hours on the BUFORD, the

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- 5 -

wonder of the moment when we shall step on Soviet soil. I haven't paper enough to put this rattle into shape. I promise you my first letter dealing with conditions in Russia will be more carefully written. I hope it will not be less intense.

Thankfully,

EMMA GOLDMAN (signed)

Member of the first group of pilgrims forced out of the land founded by persecuted pilgrims. May we not repeat the follies and crimes of the Plymouth Rock refugees which terminated in the present American despotism?

Seal,

Correctness of copy certified: Helsingfors Central Intelligence Police Office in Kamalia, April 14, 1920. Officially,

Hanset Arlinen

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 [Jan.] 28, Petrograd [to Stella Ballantine, New York (newspaper transcript)] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 19 cm.

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June 28 - Nov. 28 - 20

THE SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER :

'I Still Love America,' Writes Emma Goldman

Describes Conditions in Land of Soviets

Well-Known Anarchist Makes Plea
to Friends in the U. S. to

Send Necessities.

Nov. 28 - 20

PETROGRAD, June 28, 1920.—
"Darling: Life for us here will be extremely difficult. You see we can accept no support from the Soviet government until we can render some service. And we cannot consistently do that until we have learned to understand and absorb what now seems to us conflicting. On the other hand, it is well nigh impossible to live here outside the Soviet regime.

"Things are terribly scarce and still more terrible in price. Imagine 2,000 rubles for a dozen eggs, 300 rubles for a pound of butter, shoes 2,000 rubles or more. The dollar is now 50 rubles. So you can figure out for yourself how one can manage. There is one way out, that is to get money from home in gold. Its value is fifty times that of paper.

"It is a great pity no one told us that, as we could just as well have taken part of our money in gold. As it is, Sash had only \$100. Now, darling, if you want us to be able to live more or less independently, you'll have to do two things—send us provisions and things and gold. I don't know how much Harris intends to pay for my correspondence. But, whatever it will be, you will, of course, collect it from him and change it into gold.

"SEND US GOLD."

"Among those who will be deported next there surely will be some dependable people who will bring us gold and provisions. For instance, Schnauble's wife. You can reach her at the following place: Mr. Alexander, 558 East One Hundred and Ninety-first street. You or F. might get hold of her and ask her to take \$500 in gold for us. It is too bad that we took paper money with us.

"You will see the importance of gold when I tell you that I paid 4,500 rubles today for a little electric teapot. But in American paper money that ten kettle costs about \$20. You see, then, that unless we can get gold from time to time we will not be able to live in Russia at all in view of the fact that we must retain our independence if we are to decide without fear of favor whether we can work within the Soviet regime.

"We want to help Russia. The poverty and distress are beyond description. No medicines of any sort, no soap, matches, medicine, underwear, and nothing of the sick and of children is awful. Why not get a few women together in America to organize relief work? It must not be official relief, otherwise the things will never leave America. As far as we know, no restrictions were placed on anyone as to the amount of baggage the deportees carried.

"I could have taken twelve or more trunks—so could every one else, if we had only known. Sash's and my trunks were opened on Ellis Island, but very superficially looked over. Why not go after Lillian Wald, Villard, the Mussys and Levisch sisters, and others, who can contribute? They are kind folks.

Herewith is printed an extraordinary letter from Emma Goldman, deported for anarchy, the first published in full since she was landed in Russia. The letter is in three parts, evidently written at different times. It was sent to John Reed, author and agitator.

After getting the letter he hastened to Russia to meet her. Several weeks ago cable dispatches came that he died suddenly of typhus.

She advised him to have the important points of the letter typewritten or mimeographed and distributed among "our comrades" in the United States. It was through one of these that a copy of the letter fell into the hands of the Hearst newspapers.

Hitherto all that has come from Emma Goldman and her associates that were deported with her has been a few brief messages to friends here. The letter below gives a vivid impression of conditions in Russia as seen through her eyes. Also is described the ocean voyage on the "Soviet Ark," the prison ship Buford, on which they were deported.

rooms and the high ceilings, which make the cold more acute. I sit in my warm robe, with blankets over my feet, and we have steam and electric light. Most of the workers haven't. You can imagine how they suffer. I was called up by a woman who is the sister of a photographer our dear Helena once worked for—Kadison. She said, 'I would love to come to you, but my hands and feet are swollen and have been frostbitten.' It's dreadful. But the spirit of the revolution burns like a magic flame. It is truly miraculous.

"Beloved, mine, I long for you with all the intensity of my being. I'd give ten years of my life to be able to look in upon you, hold you close, to see our beloved baby. No such red cheeks and shining eyes as Dan's here. No such well-fed, precious bodies. Yet, pale and frail as the children are, they, too, are consumed by the divine spirit which has imbued the Russian people and made them invincible against the whole world.

"I visited a children's home for defective children. Some of them were quarantined. A little tot of about eight said to the physician in charge, 'We've been imprisoned long enough; we want to get out.' Imagine; my heart is full with the woe and the marvel of Russia.

"Darling, I wonder when I will hear from you. I am sick with anxiety. Be sure to arrange with the party who will bring you this to send back mail. He will instruct you how. It will be the only way until the blockade is lifted.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 [Jan.] 28, Petrograd [to Stella Ballantine, New York (newspaper transcript)] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 19 cm.

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"SEND UP SOAP."

"Take soap, for example. Don't you think Mrs. Fels could be induced to contribute a substantial quantity? Then about medicine. Between Lillian Wald, Dr. Wooshin and his connections a whole hospital could be supplied. The doctor of one ship, the Buford, gave me a small supply of aspirin, quinine, calomel, cadvine, sodine, aspeosalt, etc. We need disinfectants.

"The Petrograd climate is rotten; nearly all our people have a cold. Aside from our own needs we'd like a trunkful for the unfortunate sick here. It ought to be possible to get things wholesale, so that each deportee can be given the extra trunk of food for the hungry children of Petrograd.

"What became of Mrs. Vanderlip's \$100,000? Couldn't she be induced to help carry out our project? You don't know what it would mean to the children. Sonya Kolomhurovna, care of I. Zorin, Hotel Astoria, Petrograd, is my address. We're going to Moscow in about ten days, but will return to Petrograd to live. This is the revolutionary workers' center, while Moscow is the seat of the government. Needless to say we prefer to be far distant from Moscow. But we must go to meet Lenin and the others.

"Of the leading men to Petrograd, we've met only two so far, Zinovieff and I. Zorin. We saw the former only for an hour. But the latter has devoted much of his time to us. He is a most lovable personality. In fact, they all are and so earnest and dedicated. All work themselves to death. They are starved and exhausted, but their spirit is beyond belief. And yet we may not be able to work with them.

BEGS FOR BABY CLOTHES.

"The situation is such that we are now going through the deepest spiritual conflict in our lives.

"You can imagine our joy when we met dear Bill Shatov here. He is our neighbor, lives in the same house on the floor above us. I dread to think of it. The mother so poorly nourished and without anything for the baby. Imagine, she has one half a diaper for the baby. She fell on my neck when I gave her a box of baby powder and a piece of castile soap. Dearest, I want you and Rose Yester to get one or two outfits for Shatov's child. Be sure to include a little hot water bottle, dimpers, skirts, a few small dresses, coat, little sweaters or woolen jackets, cap, little knitted shoes and stockings and anything else you can think of. Dear old Bill has played a tremendous part in the revolution.

"Everything except women is nationalized here. The open market, though it is tolerated as an evil, has few things and sells at terrible prices. I have been promised what is called a perpetual pass to Stanislavski's Theater when I get to Moscow. So far I have attended only two things, a rotten performance of 'Othello,' abominably set, and the opera 'Rusalka,' with Shchepkin. We were to meet Gorki this week, but had to postpone it until next. Everybody here runs around with a cold. We heard him on Monday in a reading in 'Andrejev.' Gorki is a very poor reader, but his personality warms your whole being. He is very, very simple and tender. I can hardly wait for the event of meeting him intimately.

"We're lodged in the famous Astoria Hotel—now called the Soviet House. Several hundred Soviet officials live here. Nothing has remained of the old splendor, except the spacious

LOVE TO NEW YORK FRIENDS.

"The other evening we attended a memorial to Alexander Herzen. It took place in one of the gorgeous rooms of the Winter Palace. A division of the Fire Department in uniform and helmet marched in on tiptoes not to disturb the meeting. It seemed a dream, not a reality, to see these soldiers—once the very dust under the feet of the Czar actually using the Winter Palace as their own. It all seems a dream, yet it is vividly real. Darling, I wish I could write even one-millionth part of what is going on within me. More than ever I agree with Isaac that it is the struggle for the attainment of the ideal which alone makes life rich and full. The ideal achieved means the ideal fettered—crushed.

"I think it will be best to take out the most important points of this letter and have them typewritten or mimeographed and sent to our comrades. They ought to see how urgently their help is still needed. Of course, you will see all our New York friends, Ellen K., Gertrude —, Dorothy Miller, Elvire B. and —? Sarah Grubeth and her family. My love to them all. Tell Sarah she'll save my life if she'll send me several summer dresses. There is absolutely nothing, nothing to be had here. In a few days Ella will be free. My love to her. I hope when she returns to Italy she will not find herself so out of place as we do here just now.

"I haven't it in my heart to urge you to come here. It isn't only because of the dreadful poverty—it is the extreme difference of viewpoint on life in general and our ideas in particular. We're in a strange world altogether. But if you decide to join us it will be a great adventure for you. I wonder how you are and what's doing in New York—how dear the old burg has grown to me.

"P. S. Unless you come here and help me carry out the plans we talked about so often, you'll never see me again. This country has one quality, however; it helps you reduce! If I stay here any length of time I will come back a perfect lily of the valley, lithe and rhythmic like a nymph. I don't have to tell you, old man, how much I'd love to see you, but I would not wish it on you to be here now. It is awful—not the revolution, but the want. But let's talk of more cheerful things.

"Affectionately, E. G."

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 28, Petrograd [to Stella Ballantine, New York (government transcript)] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 10 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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Jellison.

- I -

Petrograd, Jan. 28th, 1920.

Darling. We are here in ten days, but the impressions crowded in, make our presence in Russia seem 6 months. My head is in a whirl, my heart full to the bursting point. There are a million things I would like to write you about, but I can't do it now. Even if we had come to a normal Russia it would have been difficult for us to act just ourselves. But Russia is herself in such an abnormal state, that we are completely uprooted. It will take us months to find our bearings, to know where we might fit in and the work we might do. Russia is marvelous, yet painfully confused. We are torn in a hundred directions. We can join now, and may never be able to do so. We are just adrift. We are sure only of one thing, until we have grasped the *raison d'être* for many extraordinary events we will not be able to work within the Soviet regime or even with our own comrades. We're like babies in a wilderness. For the first time in our lives we can find no way out of the tangle. I can say no more, dearest. But you will understand. All is only for you and the very few immediate friends. I am inclosing a letter for M. The original may reach you before this together with a lot of other mail, which I sent through another man we met on the steamer. If he arrives, explain to M. why I am now sending a copy. The part about Russia is a separate matter. Get that to him just as soon as this reaches you.

Life for us here will be extremely difficult. You see, we can accept no support from the Soviet Government until we can render some service. And we can not consistently do that, until we have learned to understand and absorb what now seems to us conflicting. On the other hand, it is wellnigh impossible to life here outside the Soviet regime. Things are terribly scarce and still more terrible in price. Imagine 2000,- rubles for a dozen eggs, 3000,- rubles for a pound of butter, shoes 2000,- rubles or more. The Dollar now is 50 rubles. So you can figure out for yourself how one can manage. There is one way out,

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that in to get money from home in gold. Its value is ten times as much as that of paper. It is a great pity no one told us that, as we could just as well have taken part of our money in gold. As it is,--Hush had only 17. - Not a thing. If you want us to be able to live more or less independently, you'll have to do two things, send us provisions and things and gold. I don't know how much Harris intends to pay for my correspondence. But whatever it will be you will, of course, collect it from him and change it into gold. Among those who will be deported next there surely will be some dependable people who will bring us gold and provisions. For instance, Johnulet's wife. You can reach her at the following place: Mr. Alexandry, 553 East 151 Street. H., you or F. might get hold of her and ask her to take 500 in gold to us. It is too bad that we took paper with us. It would be a loss of ten times over to change it now. We don't want to do it if we can help it. You will see the importance of gold, when I tell you that I paid 4500 rubles today for a little electric tea pot. Even with gold the rate is 9/2 for something which costs about 5 at home. But in the rate of paper the tea kettle costs about 90. You see then that unless we can get gold from time to time we will not be able to live in Russia at all, in view of the fact that we must retain our independence if we are to decide without fear or favor whether we can work within the Soviet regime.

About the things we want, you'll find a list of absolutely necessary things to be sent at the first opportunity. The others whenever you have a chance. But outside of that we'd have to help Russia. The poverty and distress are beyond description. No medicines of any sort, no soap -- matches -- muslin -- underwear and no food. It is appalling. The suffering of the sick and of children is awful. Why not get a few women together to organize relief work. So -----? fund for the equipment of 50 or 100 trucks or more which the next bunch of de-

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portees could take with them for Russia. It must not be official or else the things will never leave America. The work can be done quite far as we know, no restrictions were placed on anyone as to the amount I could have taken but of course -- so could everyone else; as a matter of fact, no one was searched. Sasha's and my trunks were opened on Ellis Island but very superficially looked over. Why not go after Lillian Wald, Villard the Muszy, the Levisohn sisters and others, who can contribute and lay the suggestions before them. Take soap, for example, don't you think Mrs. Vels could be induced to contribute a substantial quantity? Then about medicines -- between Lillian Wald, Dr. Wooshin and his connections and Mo, a whole hospital could be supplied. By the way, tell my own beloved broker to fill out a medicine chest for our own use, such as aspirin, quinine, calomel, sedine, sedine, arsenic salt, castor oil; anything and everything for severe colds and coughs, chest trouble, etc. H. and Wooshin will know best what to send. The doctor of the Buford gave me a small supply. The Petrograd climate is rotten, nearly all of our people have colds. Be sure to tell Mr. to get up a large variety of medicines, boracic acid, something for disinfection, etc. But aside from our own need we'd like a trunk full for the unfortunate sick here, or at least for some of them. Then about foodstuffs; with the help of Leon M., it ought to be possible to get things wholesale, so that each deportee can be given the extra trunk of food for the hungry children of Petrograd. What's become of Mrs. Vanderlip's 100,000 ---? Couldn't she be rounded up to help carry out our project? You don't know what it would mean to the children. You'll find a general list of things. If you and T. can raise some money, send what you can.

While our train was waiting in Viborg two American correspondents brought me greetings from Mrs. Halmberg. She is quite ill in the hospital. I gave them money for flowers for her. In Viborg I also received the cable

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of the New York World. He replied by cable, but had to send it to the World correspondent stationed at Helsingfors. We had no one to send it ~~with~~ by except the American correspondents, one of whom writes for the Chicago Tribune. Of course, you will write big ~~-----~~ for me. Ask him to send us the Chicago Tribune, Sonya Kolomburova, c/o I. Kerin, Hotel Astoria, Petrograd. That will be his and my address, his to the name of A. Radmetov. We're going to Moscow in about ten days, but will return to Petrograd to live. This is the revolutionary workers' centre, while Moscow is the seat of the government; needless to say, we prefer to be far distant from Moscow. But we must go to meet Lenin and the others. We also want to see old Peter; then there is Shapira of London and several others. Of the leading men in Petrograd we've met only two so far, Zinoviev and I. Kerin. We saw the former only for an hour. But the latter has devoted much of his time to me. He is a most lovable personality. In fact, they all are, and so earnest and dedicated. All work themselves to death -- they are starved and exhausted. But their spirit is beyond belief. And yet we may not be able to work with them. The situation is such that we are now going through the deepest spiritual conflict in our lives. Perhaps we will be able to be more explicit when next we have a chance to send you a letter. -----
Tell dear ----- I have been thanking the stars ever since we left that she was not with us, and since we came here my thanks have increased. I dread to think how she would feel here, not only because of the awful cold and want -- but still more because of many bitter disappointments. It requires a Russian hide to survive; still, if she wants the experience and feels strong enough to make the venture, I will be glad to have her. As to S., she ought to know how he longs for her. We both feel very, very lonely so far. You can imagine our joy when we met dear Bill Shatov. He is our neighbor, lives in the same house on the floor above us. I dread to think of it. The mother so poorly nourished and

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without anything for the -----? Imagine she has a half dozen diapers for the baby. She fell on my neck when I gave her a box of baby-powder, and a piece of castile soap. Dearest, I want you and Lela Yatar to get one or two outfits for Shatov's child; be sure to include a little hot water bottle, diapers, shirts, a few little dresses, coat, little sweaters or woolen jackets, cap, little knitted shoes and stockings and anything else you can think of. By the way, Minnie Levisohn was going to give us a package for Shatov; tell her she can send it through the other deportees. He needs a sweater, shoes, socks, shirts, flannel shirts. Dear old Bill has played a tremendous part in the Revolution. In the defense of Petrograd against Yudenitch Bill made a brilliant showing. He is now on the way to Siberia to organize and reconstruct the railroads. Among the men she went with him are I. Ananbelt and Beanki. Of our new arrivals, Stratef asked me to send his love to you, Leonard, Minnie L., Harry K. and all the rest; you can add my love, too. We met besides Sharov our dear friends Vasilij and Maria Semionoff; we met them first in D-----? then -----? L. A. knows them. Their young son returned to America with Raymond Robins. They have not heard from him for ever so long and are desperate. I am sure it will not be difficult for you to get hold of Robins and through him with Steven Semionoff. If the boy works, he should send his people clothes. A suit of underwear and shoes for his father, the same for the mother. They are both in rags; we rigged him out in a pair of Sachs's trousers, a sweater and underwear from the Bishop's trunk. I had hoped to find my brown skirt in my trunk, which would have been something for poor Manija. She runs around in a little white shirt in 22 below zero. I gave her a sweater, underwear, a pair of shoes and woolen gloves. Write the Man-----? about the plight of the Semionoffs, they were great friends, they might send you some things and money to get things for them.

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Dearest, tell Sugar Pop's mother, if she plans to come here to bring gold instead of paper money, in her case she needs from 75 - 100,000 rubles a month to live in Petrograd or Moscow, and even then she will be underpaid. Everything except women, nationalised. The open market, though it is tolerated as an evil, has few things and sells at terrible prices and you ought to know that and be prepared for it. The best thing for her would be a few trunks of food stuffs, plenty of winter and summer apparel and gold instead of paper. Give her my fondest love and say I have been promised what is called a perpetual pass to Stanislovskij's Theatre when I get to Moscow. I will be well --- as her guide and interpreter; so far I have attended only two things, a rotten performance of Othello abominably set and the Opera "Rusalka" with Chaliapin in the title role. He has lost much of his voice, but his acting is still acting, very wonderful. However, Moscow is the art centre, I am told. We'll see what they have there. We were to meet Gorki this week, but had to postpone it until next. Everybody here runs around with a cold. We heard him on Monday in a reading in Andrejev. G. is a very poor reader, but his personality warms your whole being. He is very, very simple and tender. I can hardly wait for the event of meeting him intimately. --- It is 2:30 now and I am numb with cold. We're lodged in the famous Astoria hotel --- now called the Soviet house --- several hundred soviet officials live here. Nothing has remained of the old splendeur, except the spacious rooms and the high ceilings, which make the cold more acute. I sit in my warm robe with blankets over my feet and we have steam and electric light. Most of the workers haven't even that. You can imagine how they suffer. I was called up by a woman who is the sister of a photographer our dear Helena once worked for --- Nadia --- she said "I would love to come to you, but my hands and feet are swollen and have been frost bitten". It's dreadful. But the spirit of the Revolution burns like a magic flame. It is truly miraculous.

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Beloved mine, I long for you with all the intensity of my being. I'd give ten years of my life to be able to look in upon you, hold you close, to see our own beloved baby. No such red cheeks and shining eyes as Dan's have. No such well fed precious bodies. Yet pale and frail as the children are, they too are consumed by the divine spirit which has imbued the Russian people and made them invincible against the whole world. I visited a children's home, for defective children. Some of them were quarantined. A little tot of about eight, said to the physician in charge, "We've been imprisoned long enough, we want to get out!" Imagine! My heart is full with the wee and the marvel of Russia. Darling, I wonder when I will hear from you? I am sick with anxiety. Be sure to arrange with the party who will bring you this, to send back mail. He will instruct you how. It will be the only way until the blockade is lifted. And Helena, --how is she? I think of her all the time and --? girlhood days in this city. What a transformation. It's beyond wildest fancy. The other evening we attended a memorial to Alexander Herzen. It took place in one of the gorgeous rooms of the Winter palace. A division of the fire department in uniform and helmet marched in on tiptoes not to disturb the meeting. It seemed a dream, not reality, to see these soldiers -- once the very dust under the feet of the Czar, in the Winter palace. It all seems a dream, yet it is vividly real. Darling, darling, I wish I could write even one millionth part of what is going on within me. Let dear, precious Max read this letter; he'll understand. Now I'd love to have a talk with him. Embrace him for me. Tell him more than ever I agree with Ibsen that it is the struggle for rather than the attainment of the ideal, which alone makes life rich and full. The ideal achieved means the ideal fettered -- crushed ---- I will not be able to write anyone else but you, for the present. You will have to write for me to big and little Ben, Agnes ? -- & V Oeck, the dear old Bishop and his wife. Tell him they are being blessed by several people, who have suffered tortures from cold;

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for the first time since the terrible war. Of course, you
my own beloved Saxe -- how I would love to see him. He'd cause a
second revolution in P. with his dental art, if he could bring his equip-
ment; and my own Moushe, what would he not do as an X Ray expert. Love to the
whole Koch bunch. My dear old lady, how is she keeping? What is heard from M?
I think it will be best to take out the most important points of this letter
and have them typewritten or mimeographed and sent along with our letter to our
comrades. They ought to see how urgently their help is still needed. Of
course, you will see all our N.Y. friends, Ellen K., Gertrude -- Dorothy Miller,
Elwira B. and -----? Sarah Grubsh and her family. My love to them all. Tell
Sarah she'll save my life if she'll send me several summer dresses; there is
absolutely nothing, nothing to be had here. In a few days Ella will be free.
My love to her. I hope when she returns to Italy she will not find herself so
out of place as we do here just now. Love to Kate, when you write her, to
Hutch and Bugard and all our friends.

Write about everything and send copies of deportation pamphlets and
other important material. I hold you close, my precious child. Your K. Give
my darling many kisses for me. See Teddy and give my love to ----? See how
I miss her. Give my love to Van; he or Ehrlich might help with electrical
articles we need. There is no alcohol to be had here, so my paracetamols are
useless. Nor is there any other way to cook in the rooms here. One must either
starve or cook in the common kitchen. We have electricity, hence need the stove,
pots, etc. Do not fail to send Leon M. excerpts of this letter. Tell him he has
saved our lives with the things the big trunk contains, if only we had some
Connecticut sea foods. My love to him. Tell him not to rush to K. just yet.

Lovingly K.

Darling, I can't tell you how we miss you. Not only dear Sasha but I
miss you and long for you as I never have since we met. Everybody here is very

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kind to us, especially the Zorins -- both were in N.Y. for a number of years, but we never met them there. Zorin is a type like Mass, so kind and solicitous. He has been perfectly lovely to us, without him we'd have been utterly lost. We're that pretty much anyway. But even the Zorins are removed from us in so many ways -- we have no one of our own. I mean in ideas of thought. I really don't know what I would have done here all alone, or I without him. We both miss you, dearie. Yet I haven't it in my heart to urge you to come. It isn't only because of the dreadful poverty -- it is the extreme difference of view point on life in general and our ideas -- in particular. We're in a strange world all together. But if you decide to join us, it will be a great adventure for you. I wonder how you are and what's doing in N.Y. -- strange how dear the old boy has grown to me. You will write us the first chance you have to send a letter, won't you, dearie. We need the copies of M.R. which contain -----? on the Mexican Revolution. Of course if you can send one set M.R. that would be fine. If not, just send the single copies containing the material. There is a book on the Mexican Revolution by Dornare and also Durner, send copy of each. Then we want the speeches of the Chicago Anarchists, a copy of the Book and a copy of Charles Edward Russell's book on the Labor movement of the Haymarket period, several copies of Yattiner, my Essays and Dramas, Sasha's Memories, if the new edition is out, and pamphlets. Give my love to Rose and A. Maren, to Petya, Hilda and Sam, to all our comrades. I embrace you fondly.

P.S. Love to Martha Gruening, Ida Balch, Your M. Mary C.B. -- Dear H.W. Unless you come here and help me carry out the plan we talked about so often, you'll never see me again. I couldn't scare up an American here for any amount of consideration. The Americans have all taken Dutch leave. Believe me, this is some country, I freeze all the time. It has one quality, however, it helps to reduce. If I stay here any length of time I will come back a perfect lily of the valley.

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lithe and rhythmic like a nymph. I don't have to tell you, old man, how much I'd love to have a visit with you, but I would not wish it on you to be here now. It is some confusion, due not to the revolution but to the awful want. But let us talk of more cheerful things. What are you doing now that your illustrious clients are no more. I will let you know how we might be reached. Write us; we're so anxious to hear from you.

Affectionately,

E.G.

Correctness of copy certified; Helsinki Central Intelligence
Police Office in Helsinki, April 14, 1980. Officially:

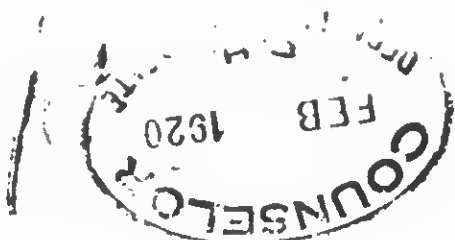
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[Telegram] 1920 Jan. 29, Moscow [to Stella] Balla[n]tin[e], New York [government transcript] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 1 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.
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From Moscow via Lyons,
January 29, 1920

RETURN TO C-H
FILE
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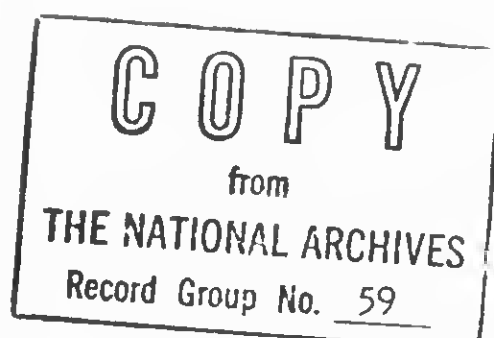
Mrs. J. Ballatin,
36 Grove Street,
New York City

Premet at Soviet border and Petrograd with tremendous enthusiasm reception weeping. Enjoying hospitality Petrograd. Deportees will be sent to work wherever they desire. People cold and hungry but spirit and devotion marvellous. After weeks will go to Moscow cabled World Finland.

Emma Goldman
Alexander Berkman

Note: Not delivered
Copy ONI
" Mr W L Hurley, room 101, State Dept.
" 10 for Secnav
" Department of Justice

r



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1920 Jan. 29, Petrograd to Frank Harris, New York (newspaper transcription)] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 20 x 19 cm.

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June 28 - Nov. 28 - 20

THE SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

'I Still Love America,' Writes Emma Goldman Describes Conditions in Land of Soviets

Well-Known Anarchist Makes Plea
to Friends in the U. S. to
Send Necessities.

ANOTHER CHAPTER.

"The Revolution has unde the Russian people articulate beyond belief, not even oultling cold and knowing hunger have checked their flow of speech.

"Yesterday we were each given 5,000 rubles, which is the wage paid everyone in the Soviet State. Today the American refugees were furnished with warm clothing. Our American democracy did not give the men as much after they had toiled for years. Thus Soviet Russia is the first to apply the communist axiom that a worker must first be a consumer before he can become a producer.

"There is one outstanding feature... it is the equality of hunger. From the most humble worker, all are tormented alike by the lack of food. But not the revolution is to be blamed for that. The blame for the slow starvation of the Russian people lies with the capitalist, imperialists with them, who proclaimed so loudly against the atrocities of the German Junkers and then anti-junkered Germany by the atrocious blockade. The bitter irony of this black crime is this: The blockade, while depleting the bodies of the Russian people, has had the very opposite effect upon their spirit.

"Perhaps it is the almost unlimited human capacity for suffering; perhaps it is their fervent glowing faith in the revolution. I do not know. I only know that the imperialists

Advises Friend Not to Undertake
Trip to Russia Because of
the Want There.

conspiracy has strengthened the Russian people, has strengthened their revolutionary faith. It has made the people determined and defiant beyond measure.

"Think of it. In a temperature of thirty-two below zero, half naked and with King Hunger ever present the people go about their daily tasks in the passionate belief that the revolution must be defended to the very last.

"They march in thousands to the open square once denoted in blood of the people misled by Gapon) to celebrate the anniversary of the victory of the Czar in the revolution of 1905.

"THEY LISTEN RAPT."

"They listen rapt to the men in the classroom, all through six hours at performance of 'Othello,' go wild with enthusiasm over Shalupins—singing and yelling—attend an Androjev evening with Gorki and others as readers, and do a thousand other extraordinary and amazing things which would test the vitality of people normally fed and clothed. And this marvelous people the imperialists conspired to whip under the iron heel of capitalism.

"Though I am here only a few days, I can already see that the wanton conspiracy has failed utterly. For this reason alone it behooved fair-minded America to put an end to the cruel blockade as futile and unnecessary—the blackest crime in the history of man. I go to Moscow in ten days to meet Lenin and the other men at the head of the Soviet regime. This is the seat of government. Its instinct, conviction and experience like government scale per distance."

"EMMA GOLDMAN."

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[Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Petrograd [to Frank Harris, New York (government transcript)]
/ Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Jed Jeanou

Petrograd, January 29th, 1920.

I am taking the first opportunity to send this to you in case the copy dated Jan. 16 failed to reach you. I will send only a few lines now. Our railway trip through Finland, locked in congested cars with guards over us, was a nightmare. Mannerheim no longer in Finland but his spirit evidently goes on. During 27 hours we were outrageously treated then our jailers released their rigid discipline. They suddenly became courteous. We learned afterward that it was the report of the lifting of the blockade. Our reception by Soviet Russia took place at Belostrow. The Soviet committee consisted of Madame Andrejewa (Maxim Gorky's wife), a man by the name of Pineberg and I. Zorin. The latter holds the post of head to the Petrograd Executive Committee Extraordinary. The trio came over after the parley between the Finnish and Russian authorities. The committee then met Alexander Berkman and myself as the committee chosen by our party. After that our people were taken back by the Soviet Committee to Belostrow, where all were enthusiastically received with music and song. Red Army soldiers at the railway station trains had been waiting all day to take us to Petrograd. Before our departure we attended our first meeting on Soviet soil. It was most impressive — the bitter cold hall dimly lit by a few candles on the platform — The eagerly upturned faces of our people who had been thrust out of America and were now listening to the first comradely words in their own native language. The woman who addressed the audience surrounded by a group of women, whose pale faces framed in black nursehoods, looked like that of the Madonna. It was a wonderfully

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impressive event.

On our arrival in Petrograd we were met by a large delegation of workers and soldiers taken into the station and again taken to speeches. The Revolution had made the Russian people articulate beyond belief. Not even cutting cold and gnawing hunger have checked their flow of speech--speech so musical as I have not heard in weeks. After the addresses of welcome all marched to the Antaki house--once famous Douried (Tauride) palace -- there our people were entertained and played for. That night a few of us went as guests of Petrograd to Soviet House -- the erstwhile Astoria Hotel. The following morning the party was taken to Smolny, where they have been living ever since, until they will be placed at the work they most like to do. Yesterday they were given 5000 rubles, which is the wage paid every one in the Soviet State. Today the American refugees were furnished with warm clothing. Our American democracy did not give the men as much after they had toiled for years. Thus Soviet Russia is the first to apply the Communist axiom that a worker must first be a consumer before he can become a producer.

Being here only ten days I have had no time to look into the achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution, to be able to write authoritatively. But there is one outstanding feature -- it is the equality of hunger. For the most humble worker -- all are tortured alike by lack of food and warmth. But the Revolution is not to be blamed for that. The blame for the slow starvation of the Russian people lies with the capitalists -- imperialists --

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- 3 -

with those who proclaimed so loudly against the atrocities of the German Junkers and then outjunkered Germany by the atrocious blockade. The bitter irony of this black crime is this: The blockade while depleting the bodies of the Russian people, had the very opposite effect upon their spirit.

Perhaps it is the almost human capacity for suffering - perhaps it is their fervent glowing faith in the Revolution. I only know that the imperialistic conspiracy has strengthened the Russian people, has strengthened their revolutionary faith - it has made the people determined to defeat it beyond measure. Think of it! in a temperature of 32 degrees below zero, half

naked and with king hunger ever present, the people go about their daily tasks in the passionate belief that the Revolution must be defended to the very last. With that as their motto they crowd to the meetings, held in bitterly cold halls,

oblivious to all physical distress. They gather in the Winter Palace to pay homage to the memory of the great Alexander Herzen, the exile of one of the Csaars, who once reigned supreme in the Winter Palace. They march in thousands to the open square, (once drenched in the blood of the people, misled by Gapon), to celebrate the anniversary of the victory of the Czar in the Revolution of 1905. They travel miles in open cars to lay wreaths on the graves of their martyred dead. And miracle of miracles, the Russian people fed on one-half pound of bread, a little soup, an occasional herring, retain their unquenchable thirst for learning and art. Huddled together they listen in rapt attention to the men in the class rooms, sit through six hours of a performance

of Othello, go wild with enthusiasm over a balladist singing and

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Petrograd [to Frank Harris, New York (government transcript)]
/ Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

- 4 -

and acting Russia--attend an Andreyev evening with Gorky and others as readers, and do a thousand other extraordinary amazing things which would test the vitality of people normally kept and clothed. And this marvellous people the imperialists conspired to whip-to grind under the iron heel of capitalism.

Though I am here a few days I can already see that the vention conspiracy has failed utterly. For this reason alone it behooves fair-minded America to put an end to the cruel blockade as being futile and inhuman - the blackest crime in the history of man. I go to Moscow in ten days to meet Lenin and the other men at the head of the Soviet regime.

I will then return to Petrograd which is the revolutionary industrial centre. Moscow is the seat of government. By instinct, conviction and experience I like government seats per distance.

EMMA GOLDMAN

(Seal)

Correctness of copy certified; Helsinki Central Intelligence Police Office in Helsinki, April 14, 1920. Officially,

MAMAT ARLINE

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[illegible]

I could add anything to the effect of this letter, but in its bare sincerity and simplicity it is strong and should stand alone. Yet something I have seen New York policemen clubbing peaceful students, women and men on Fifth Avenue; I have seen them drive ladies off the Avenue who were going quietly and without meddling the way to a protest in favor of amnesty. I have seen the streets North and West of a worse than average condition. This Island takes its place in the most shameful chapter of this same infamous cruelty. I have seen it done in Wall, the American Museum,

[illegible]

If we are resolved, a Howe will soon put an end to the suffering and make of Ellis Island once again a city of refuge for the oppressed and a house of prayer for the penitent. Many of us have made up a game plan for the coming year. We will go with the Convention and sign the Declaration and declare that he will never be a party to any abridgment of the liberties guaranteed in the First Amendment. Nay more, we should further resolve any Member of Congress or any Judge who should vote to allow any infringement of the First Amendment should thereby forfeit his position.

It is the men who seek to restrain freedom who
 are restrained, and so out of evil good may come.
 FRANK PEARSON

Letter From Elmer Goldman.

Received, Jan. 29, 1941

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Petrograd [to Frank] Harris [New York] / Emma Goldman.
— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives.

Pearson's Magazine, Jan. 1920

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tested case, with Finnish White Guards over us, was a nightmare. Mannerheim butchers no longer in Finland; but his spirit evidently lives on. During 24 hours we were treated outrageously; then our jailers somewhat relaxed the rigid discipline. They suddenly grew courteous. We learned afterwards that it was the report about the lifting of the blockade which changed the demeanor of our keepers.

Kind Russian Reception.

Our reception by Soviet Russia took place at Belostrov, the first Russian station across the Finnish line, not far from Wiborg. The Soviet Committee consisted of Mme. Andreyeva, the wife of Maxim Gorki, Feinberg of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, and S. Zorin, member of the Petrograd Soviet. The three were permitted to cross the Finnish boundary by permission of the Finnish Government, and to hold a consultation with the committee of the deportees. After that the whole group of the American political exiles walked across to Russian soil, where they were greeted by the waiting Red Army with song and music. At the railway station a train had been waiting all day to take us to Petrograd, but before our departure there we attended our first meeting on Soviet soil. The meeting, under the auspices of the local committee of women, was most impressive—the bitterly cold hall dimly lit by a few candles on the platform, the eager faces of our people who had been thrust out of America and were now listening to the first comradely words in their native tongue; the woman who addressed the audience, surrounded by a group of women whose suffering faces looked like that of the Madonna—it was a soul-stirring picture.

On our arrival in Petrograd we were met by a great concourse of people and marched with music and banners to the waiting room, and treated to more speeches. The Revolution has made the people wonderfully articulate. Not even the bitter hunger and terrible cold have been able to check their flow of language. And such musical speech I had not heard in years. The evening ended at the Uritsky house, formerly the Tauride Palace, where our people were lodged and fed for the night. The following morning they were taken to the Smolny, where they are quartered till they can be assigned to work they wish to do. Yesterday each was given 5,000 rubles and warm clothing. Soviet Russia is the first to innovate the social axiom that the worker must be a consumer before he can be a producer.

The Atrocious British Blockade.

Being here only ten days, I have had no time to look into the achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution to be able to write authoritatively. But there is one outstanding feature: it is the equality of hunger. All are tortured alike by lack of food and warmth. Yet it is not the

Revolution or the Soviet Government which must be blamed for the slow starvation of the Russian people. The blame for this atrocity lies with the capitalist imperialists—with them who proclaimed so loudly the atrocities of the German Junkers and then out-Junkered Germany by the atrocious blockade. The irony of this black crime is that, while the blockade is depleting the bodies of the Russian people, it has had the very opposite effect on their mentality from that intended by their tormentors. Perhaps it is the almost supernatural capacity for suffering on the part of this wonderful people perhaps it is their fervent faith in the Revolution. I do not know. I only know that the imperialistic conspiracy has strengthened the revolutionary spirit. Think of it! In a temperature of 30 below zero (Reamur) with King Hunger ever present, the people go about their daily tasks in the passionate conviction that the Revolution must be defended to the very last. With that as their motto, they crowd meetings held in unheated halls, oblivious to all physical distress. They gather in the Winter Palace to pay homage to the memory of the great Alexander Herzen, the exile of one of the Czar who had reigned supreme in that Winter Palace. The Russian people, half frozen, always starved, gather in the thousands in the square once drenched with the blood of the workers led to slaughter by Father Gapon, to celebrate the anniversary of the victims of the Revolution of 1905; then ride in open cars to the cemetery to lay wreaths on the graves of their martyred dead. And miracle of miracles, the Russian people fed on a pound of bread, watery soup and kasha, have developed an unquenchable thirst for learning and art. Huddled together they hang on the words of the teachers and lecturers in the classrooms, sit shivering through a six-hour performance of Othello, listen with rapture to Shalopin in Russalka, attend an Andreyev evening with Gorki as interpreter, and do a thousand other amazing and extraordinary things, which would exhaust the vitality of almost any other nation even normally fed.

Though I am here but a few days, I can already see that the imperialist conspiracy has failed utterly to subdue the spirit of this people. It behooves all far-minded Americans to work more strenuously against the cruel blockade as both futile and inhuman—the blackest crime in the history of man. EMMA GOLDMAN.

A battle is a method of untying with the teeth a political knot that will not yield to the tongue.

A Cannon is an instrument employed in the rectification of national boundaries.

Childhood is the period of human life intermediate between the idiocy of infancy and the folly of youth—two remove from the sin of manhood and three from the remorse of age.

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[Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Petrograd [to Frank Harris, New York] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p.; 19 x 26 cm.
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Cartas desde Rusia

Con cierta frecuencia la prensa capitalista, especialmente la de los Estados Unidos, ha venido hablando de supuestas impresiones esmeramente desfavorables para la revolución rusa emitidas por los deportados de Norte América y, en especial manera, por Emma Goldman y Alejandro Berkman, esas grandes figuras anarquistas tan conocidas y estimadas en todos los países del mundo.

El riguroso bloqueo que hoy existe en todo lo que se refiere a Rusia favorece a las mil maravillas el desarrollo de tales patrañas por parte de corresponsales inescrupulosos y de diarios amarillos. Por otra parte resulta poco menos que imposible llegar a obtener las verdaderas impresiones que a esos revolucionarios debe haber producido la gran epopeya rusa. Esperemos, sin embargo, poder publicar antes de mucho detalladas impresiones y comentarios de fuente comunista-anárquica sobre la obra, el par destructiva que reconstruía, de los revolucionarios de aquel país.

Por el momento resultará al menos una satisfacción para todos los que en estos últimos veinte años han seguido de cerca la actuación de Emma Goldman y de Berkman, la publicación que hacemos de unas breves cartas cuyas (las primeras llegadas a este continente), dirigidas al conocido publicista Mr. Frank Harris, a la compañera Cornus (sobrina de Emma Goldman) y a la compañera Pieherhold respectivamente.

Petrogrado, enero 29 de 1920.

Estimado señor Harris:

Nuestro viaje en ferrocarril a través de Finlandia, en carros cerrados y con Guardias Blancas a la vista, fué una pesadilla. Mannerheim no hace ya más carnicerías en Finlandia, pero evidentemente su espíritu se mantiene vivo. Durante 24 horas se nos trató atrozmente; después nuestros carceleros aflojaron algo la rígida disciplina. Súbitamente se tornaron más corteses. Luego supimos que había sido la noticia del levantamiento del bloqueo la causa de este cambio de actitud en ellos.

Nuestra recepción en la Rusia del Soviet tuvo lugar en Beloostrov, la primera estación rusa en la frontera finlandesa, no lejos de Wiborg. El Comité del Soviet estaba compuesto por la señora Andreyev, esposa de Máximo Gorky, Feinberg del Comisariado de Relaciones Exteriores y Zoria, miembro del Soviet de Petrogrado. A los tres se les permitió cruzar la frontera finlandesa, mediante un permiso del Gobierno de Finlandia, para que tuviesen una conferencia con el comité de deportados. Después de esto, todo el grupo de los desterrados entró en territorio ruso siendo agasajado con cantos y músicas por parte del Ejército Rojo.

En la estación estaba un tren esperándonos todo el día para llevarnos a Petrogrado, pero antes de la partida asistimos a nuestra primera reunión en la tierra de los Soviets. La reunión, realizada bajo los auspicios del Comité local de mujeres, fué conmovedora: el salón, terriblemente frío y alumbrado apenas por unas cuantas bujías en la plataforma, los rostros lívidos de mis compañeros de penurias que arrojados de América venían

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ahora a oír voces de compañerismo en su propio idioma, la mujer que habló al auditorio, rodeada de muchas otras, todas ellas llenas de sufrimientos, como lo demostraban sus caras de Madonnas... todo, todo era patético.

A nuestra llegada a Petrogrado fuimos recibidos con discursos, músicas y banderas por un gentío inmenso. La Revolución ha desarrollado la lengua extraordinariamente; ni el hambre más terrible, ni el más espantoso frío son capaces de impedir el desbordamiento de elocuencia. La noche nos tomó en la Casa de Uritsky (lo que antes era el Palacio de Táuride) en donde se alimentó y alojó a los desterrados. La mañana siguiente fueron llevados al Smolny, donde permanecerán hasta tanto obtengan el trabajo que deseen. Ayer se les dió vestidos abrigados y cinco mil rublos a cada uno. La Rusia del Soviet es el primer país en el mundo que implanta como axioma social el principio de que el obrero debe ser primero un buen consumidor para poder luego ser un buen productor.

Como sólo llevo diez días de permanencia aquí no he tenido el tiempo suficiente para observar la obra de la Revolución bolcheviki y para hablar conscientemente al respecto. He podido sin embargo observar que hay una verdadera igualdad en el hambre. Todos por igual son torturados por la falta de alimentos y de calefacción. Pero no tiene la culpa de esta muerte lenta de todo el pueblo ruso por el hambre ni la Revolución, ni el Gobierno bolcheviki. La culpa de tamaña atrocidad está en los capitalistas imperialistas, en aquellos precisamente que a pulmón llevo proclamaban antes las atrocidades de los "junkers" alemanes, pero que han logrado a su vez sobrepasar a la Alemania de los "junkers" con este bloqueo criminal.

La ironía de este crimen está en que, mientras el bloqueo debilita el cuerpo del pueblo ruso, tiene sobre la mentalidad rusa un efecto contrario al que procuraban obtener sus inquisidores. Tal vez sea la casi sobrehumana capacidad para el sufrimiento que ha desarrollado este valeroso pueblo, tal vez sea la fe ardiente que tiene en la causa revolucionaria. Yo no lo sé. Sólo sé decir que la conspiración de los imperialistas ha fortalecido el espíritu revolucionario.

Es necesario pensar en ello. Con una temperatura de 30 grados bajo cero y con el Rey Hambre a las puertas, este pueblo va a sus faenas diarias con la convicción de que es necesario defender la Revolución hasta el último momento. Con tal pensamiento celebra reuniones en salones sin calefacción alguna, olvidando todas sus miserias físicas. Se renne así en el Palacio de Invierno para rendir un homenaje a la memoria del gran Alejandro Herzen — el desterrado por uno de los zares que reinó en ese mismo Palacio de Invierno. El pueblo ruso, semi helado, semi muerto de hambre, se reúne por millares en la plaza que fué regada con la sangre de los trabajadores asesinados con el Padre Gapon y rememora allí a las víctimas de la Revolución de 1905. Luego se dirige en carros abiertos al cementerio para colocar coronas sobre las tumbas de los mártires.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Petrograd [to Frank Harris, New York] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 19 × 26 cm.
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Y, milagro de milagros, el pueblo ruso, alimentado solamente con una libra de pan, sopa aguada y "kasha", ha desarrollado un ardiente amor por las artes y las letras. Permanece agrupado en las clases, suspenso de la palabra de los maestros y conferencistas; escucha temblando durante seis horas la representación de Otelo; sigue con arrebato a Chalapin en Russalka; una noche escucha a Andreyev con Gorky como intérprete y hace innumerables cosas más, asombrosas y extraordinarias, que acabarían con la vitalidad de cualquier otra nación normalmente alimentada.

Aunque sólo he permanecido aquí unos pocos días he podido observar que la conspiración de los imperialistas ha fracasado en su deseo de dominar el espíritu de este pueblo. Corresponde a los hombres de América bien intencionados trabajar enérgicamente contra este bloqueo que, más que inútil, es inhumano: es el crimen más negro en la historia de la humanidad.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921051

[Letter, 1920 Feb. 28, Moscow to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / Emma [Goldman].— 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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for Maria e/o Chitcherkin, Moscow, Commissar of Foreign Affairs.

I have repeated in this letter most of the things said in my previous letters to you, for I don't know whether any, or which, of them will reach you. There is much I should like to tell you, but I shall leave it for a later time. I am thinking of the Dolores days and wondering if the fates still have any of them left in store. They seem so far, far away, and at present beyond human reach.

Love to all our dear friends and comrades. Life seems like a strange puzzle, and those who think they can solve it are happy mortals indeed. I was of their number, once upon a time, millions of years ago. My head is in chaos but the best thoughts of my heart go out to you across the hills and the waters and the valleys of human tears and suffering. Much love.

Sasha.

My darling Stella:

I sent you three letters since I am in R., and I hope at least one of them will get to you. There is nothing I can say now, except what I have already written you. I cannot tell you in words how torn away I feel from all that was dear and precious to me during a lifetime. You must exert every possible effort to get in touch with me—it is almost enough to drive one insane not to know what has happened to ones beloved ones all this time. Forgive me this time, I do not feel equal to writing anything today. I must make my letter brief but I know you will be able to read my heart without many words. S. has already said above all that can be said at present, and this joint letter is for you and F., and our other dear friends.

Much love to you all.

Emma G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 3, Moscow [to] Carl [Newlander, Banntorp? Sweden] / Emma [Goldman and Alexander Berkman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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Moscow, March 3, 1920 12548

Dearest Carl:

We are not sure that this letter will reach you, as means of communication are at present very uncertain. But we hope good luck will be on our side this time, and that you will receive this our message of fraternal greeting. You will probably not be surprised to see this letter come from R., as you surely must know what had happened to us in the land of old Columbia. It would be a long story to relate to you our whole Odyssey, from Dec. 21, 1919, when we were actually kidnapped at Ellis Island and sent away on an unknown destination, with the first group of political deportees. That group contained 246 men and 3 women (Dora Lipkin and Ethel Bernstein, besides E.G.). We were 28 days on the seas, without knowing definitely our destination till almost the last moment. Finally we landed at Helgo, Finland, and per train reached Belo-ostrov, the first Russian station. We were received by the Soviet Committee in a splendid manner, with music and songs. The men of the party were lodged in the Smolny, Petrograd, and are now being sent to various parts of the country for work. We are at present visiting Moscow, to get acquainted with people and things. We may return to Petrograd soon, where we left our trunks, but we are thinking of settling, at least for some time, in Moscow, as this city is much more alive and interesting than Petr.

That is all we can tell you at present about ourselves. We have received many new impressions, so many, in fact, that it will take time before we can digest them and arrange our mental attitude. Owing to the terrible blockade, material conditions are bad here, but improvement is expected as soon as the commercial relations will begin with the rest of the world. The actual lifting of the blockade is, of course, the first concern of every one.

About the people at home we can tell you very little, as we have not had a word from them since we left, on Dec. 21. You can judge how anxious we are to hear from them and to learn what has happened there since we are gone, and especially how our own folks and comrades are. There were rumors that more politicals would be sent out from the U.S., but so far it seems not to have been done. That may be the reason why our people cannot reach us. We have sent several letters home, but we do not know whether they were received. Perhaps your letters reach them. Just before we left, Fizzie received a letter from you, and it appeared in the "freedom" (Harry Kelly's) of October-November, 1919. Your letter was dated Banntorp, Sept. 21. You mentioned in it that you rec'd a postal from F. from Provincetown, but she had written to you, besides the postal, several letters which you seem not to have received. But your letters to her seem all to have reached her. Therefore we want you, dear Carl, to write to F. at once, to notify her and our other comrades that you have heard from us. Tell her the contents of this letter and how anxious we are to hear from her, from Stella, etc. We earnestly hope that we may be able to get in touch with them through you. Be sure to write to us as soon as you get this letter. Tell us how you are getting along, what you are doing and all about our friends there. We are very anxious to hear from you and to learn how things are with you and with the work in your country. We shall look forward eagerly to hear from you as soon as possible. We are sure you will find a way to get a letter to us. We suggest that you send your letter

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1920 March 3, Moscow [to] Carl [Newlander, Banntorp? Sweden] / Emma [Goldman and Alexander Berkman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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through Comrade Litvinoff, who will be kind enough to forward it to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. In case Comrade Litvinoff is not there, you might be able to arrange matters with his representative. The Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Moscow will forward the letters to us.

Now, dear Carolus, write at once to F. and St., and tell them how anxious we are to hear from them. Tell them to send their letters for us to you, and you forward them to us, as instructed above. Address all mail to us thus: S.Zorin, Hotel Astoria, Petrograd. In Russian thus: *С. Зорин, Отель Астория, Петроград.*

Also, write immediately to us, as per above address, to inform us whether you received this letter. We have had no word from you since we are in R. We had hoped to receive an answer to the letter we wrote you from the ship, and which was to be mailed to you by a friend from Antwerp. Let us know whether that letter was received by you.

Best greetings to you, dear friend and comrade. We cannot tell you in words how strange we feel here after an absence of over 30 years, and how eager we are to hear from you and our folks at home. We know that you too must feel about the same way, and therefore you will understand how solitary and torn away from our old moorings we find ourselves at present. Write us soon -- it will do our hearts good to get in touch with you.

Remember us to our good comrades and give them our most Fraternal Greetings,

*Sasha
Emma*

P.S. In the latter part of October E. sent you a letter with a money order for \$10. F., S. also wrote to you about the same time and sent literature. Did any of all that reach you?

Have we made clear how to address us here? Your letter to us should be addressed to S.Zorin, Hotel Astoria, Petrograd. It is to be sent through Litvinoff to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. The latter will forward the letter to Petrograd. Therefore have a double envelope on your letter: Zorin's address inside; the Moscow address on the outside envelope.

S.

*Received
May 17*

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1920 March 8, Moscow [to] Ben [L. Reitman, Chicago (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 19 x 22 cm.

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Moscow, March 8, 1920

Dear Ben:

It is just about 3 months since you waved good bye to me at the Lassale St. Station. But the things we have experienced and seen during that time make our absence seem like many years. You can well imagine that there is much I would like to write to you about, but for the present you will have to be content rather with my desire than with the deed.

I have written to you several times, through Stella and also direct, while we were in our floating prison. Letters should have reached you from the English-Channel, from the Kiel Canal, from Antwerp and also from New York. I hope that at least some of them have reached you, as I know what it means to be completely cut off in this matter. Not a word has reached us from anyone in the U.S. so far. You can imagine how we feel about it. It is very difficult for one at my age to acclimatize himself in a new country, even under the best conditions, in normal times. But Russia, bled white by over four years of war and starved by the inhuman blockade, is not a place where one may hope to take root easily. However, if I could at least hear from those dear to me I left behind, life would not be so difficult.

I suppose you will wonder whether I have become active here in some work. I have not. Owing partly to the lack of language, and partly to the circumstance that I must first familiarize myself with the new and strange situation. We spend our time for the present seeing people, going about and getting acquainted with the situation. The one great delight we have had so far has been the Art Theater and the Studio of Stanislavsky, of whose work, as you will remember, I have often spoken in my lectures. The acting is superb, the scenery and setting most wonderful in their simplicity. Besides that we have seen some wonderful art galleries, in which Moscow in particular seems to be very rich.

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870717002

[Letter] 1920 March 8, Moscow [to] Ben L. Reitman, Chicago [government transcript]
/ Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
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E.D.
S + S Staff
Mil. Intelligence
Div. 10015-94

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WAR DEPARTMENT
HEADQUARTERS CENTRAL DEPARTMENT
CHICAGO

M.I.-IV

May 7, 1920. 10015-94

MAY 13

From: Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence, Chicago.

To: Director of Military Intelligence, Washington, D.C.

Subject: Weekly Situation Survey.

CAPTAIN S. J. W.
MAY 14 1920

(M.I.D. 255-E-6, M.I. 4-E)

in very number.

1. Reference your letter of April 29th and ours of May 5th and May 6th.

2. The following will appear in our Situation Survey of May 7th under Section 1, Radical Activities; Part 2, Items on Leaders and Prominent Agitators:

"The following letter addressed to Dr. Ben L. Reitman, 303 Busch Temple, Chicago, was received on May 6th from Emma Goldman. Her letter is dated Moscow, March 8, 1920, and was mailed April 17, 1920, in South Kensington, England:

'Dear Ben:

It is just about 3 months since you waved good bye to me at the LaSalle St. Station. But the things we have experienced and seen during that time make our absence seem like many years. You can well imagine that there is much I would like to write to you about, but for the present you will have to be content rather with my desire than with the deed.

'I have written to you several times, through Stella and also direct, while we were in our floating prison. Letters should have reached you from the English Channel, from the Kiel Canal, from Antwerp and also from New York. I hope that at least some of them have reached you, as I know what it means to be completely cut off in this matter. Not a word has reached us from anyone in the U.S. so far. You can imagine how we feel about it. It is very difficult for one at my age to acclimatize himself in a new country, even under the best circumstances, in normal times. But Russia, bled white by over four years of war and starved by the inhuman blockade, is not a place where one may hope to take root easily. However, if I could at least hear from those dear to me I left behind, life would not be so difficult.

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* * * * *

'Our love to the family, and kiss for me your young man. Best greetings to C.V., Bill, and all our other good comrades and friends.

E.'

3. Dr. Reitman stated to an agent of this office that all correspondence for Emma Goldman is sent through Stella Ballentine, 39 Grove Street, New York City. He stated that this is the first direct word that has been received from Miss Goldman since she was deported on the "Ark."

4. This for your information.

WER:H

No Incls.

Gordon Johnston

Gordon Johnston,
Colonel, G.S.,
A.C. of S., G-2.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Questions, 1920 March 13? Moscow? to V.I. Lenin, Moscow] / [Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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QUESTIONS

1. What is the present official attitude of the Soviet Government to the Anarchists?

- a) Persecution of Anarchists, as such, especially in the Provinces.
- b) Denial of free speech and free press.
- c) Literature legalized in Moscow confiscated in the Provinces.
- d) Arrests and imprisonment of Anarchists without specific accusation --- indeterminate stay in the prisons, exposed to disease and death -- liberated without explanation or redress -- deprived of their positions, contrary to Soviet law, as for instance in the City of Soozdal, Vladimirskaia Gubernia, etc.

2. Will the 2 Resolutions presented by the Federation of Anarchists-Communists to the Central Committee, per Krestinsky (on March 3, 1920) be acted upon, and how?

- a) Release of the Anarchists now confined in prisons and concentration camps.
- b) Legalization of Anarchists and Anarchist Groups that accept the platform of the Federation of Anarchists-Communists to the effect that only work of a cultural character be carried on by Anarchists within Soviet Russia.

3. What is to be the definite attitude of the Soviet Government toward the Anarchists?

- a) Guarantees for the safety of the person.
- b) No arrests or "oblava" without specific accusation.
- c) No search of person or premises without warrant clearly defining the forbidden objects sought.
- d) Full freedom of speech and press throughout Soviet territory.
- e) Court of Appeal.

4. In re Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman:

- a) General Pass for Travel, to enable them to study the conditions and become acquainted with the life of the country.
- b) The establishment of an American Political Deportees Immigration Bureau, to receive, aid, distribute, etc., the coming groups of exiles from America.
- c) The founding of the Russian Friends of American Freedom, to aid the cause of Liberty in America.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 13, Moscow [to V.I.] Lenin, [Moscow] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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FOR COMRADE LENIN

Dear Comrade:

According to your request at our recent interview, we submit the following suggestions:

1. The establishment of an American Deportees' Immigration Bureau, supplied with the necessary authority and facilities to receive, give first aid, and distribute the coming groups of American exiles. The distribution to take place according to the inclinations and abilities of those concerned, and in relation to the industrial, cultural, etc., requirements of the country.

In this connection we hereby offer our time and best efforts to organize and manage the Bureau.

2. The founding of a League to be known as the Russian Friends of American Freedom, to aid the cause of Revolution in America.

This League should be analogous in its fundamental character with the similar American organization known as the American Friends of Russian Freedom, which has - especially since the Revolution of 1905 - rendered most valuable services to Russia, in a moral, financial, and revolutionary sense. (Incidentally, the refusal of the American Government to extradite to Russia the revolutionists Hartman, Pouren, etc., was mainly due to the efforts of the American Friends of Russian Freedom.)

THE RUSSIAN FRIENDS OF AMERICAN FREEDOM should be a non-partisan organization, in no way connected with any official or semi-official body of Soviet Russia. Familiar with the conditions in the U.S. and knowing the psychology of the American people, we consider it a sine non quo condition that the RUSSIAN FRIENDS OF AMERICAN FREEDOM be free from all affiliation with any existing political organization in Russia or elsewhere. Having in view the great possibilities of such a League as the RUSSIAN FRIENDS OF AMERICAN FREEDOM, and the revolutionary influence it could exert on the workers and the proletarian intelligentsia of America, we think it absolutely necessary that the contemplated organization be entirely free and independent from any other body.

We urge the special consideration of the great effect the organization of the proposed League would have in America, and even in Western Europe. Especially would be significant the fact that the RUSSIAN FRIENDS OF AMERICAN FREEDOM was organized by the political refugees deported by America to

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Russia. In this regard we should be very glad to take charge of the work, organize the League, and put it in a good working condition. For this purpose is required a suitable building, with a typographical establishment, including English type, presses, and paper stock. The necessary compositors and pressmen can be selected from the American deportees who came to Russia with us. It will also be necessary to have the services of a courier for the work of the RUSSIAN FRIENDS OF AMERICAN FREEDOM.

We hope that the above suggestions will receive your early attention, and that they will be acted upon without unnecessary loss of time.

Fraternally,

Emma Goldman

Alexander Berkman

Moscow, March 13, 1920.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 April 3, Moscow [to Emma Goldman, Petrograd?] / P[eter] Kropotkin.

— 3 p.; 21 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3472/

? Писаное, Москва. 24.
3 апреля 1920

«Милый Алексей Ильич, пишу

тебе письмо из Москвы
Телеграммы, от сестры
Ильи Ильича, похвально
и приятны.

«Воспоминания о сестре Маше
Ильиче, которая была новобранкой
(убитой?) и умерла. Маша
«Сестра Ильича»

«Она была так же, как и я...
была? Будем ли мы пред-
принять что-нибудь, чтобы
«сберечь» его. Ведь он
своими действиями заслужил!
И сестра его — тоже!
и она была...»

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— 3 p. ; 21 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

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[Letter] 1920 April 3, Moscow [to Emma Goldman, Petrograd?] / P[eter] Kropotkin.

— 3 p. ; 21 × 15 cm.

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3472/2

Твои письма были очень
интересны! Как же вы
думаете о революции?
Может быть, вы думаете, что
она будет (как вы думаете) как вы думаете,
что она будет, что она будет,
что она будет, что она будет. Но
если вы думаете, что она будет
как вы думаете, что она будет,
то вы не должны, то вы не
должны, то вы не должны.

Она будет, как вы думаете,
что она будет, что она будет,
что она будет.

Итак,

ваше письмо было очень интересно.
Я думаю, что вы думаете.
Она будет, как вы думаете, что она будет.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1920 May, Petrograd to Stella Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman].

— 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Dearling. I don't want to change still. I am
amused to find that I am still the same. I am
rejoicing so much in the impression
that I am making on you. I am so glad
into words. Perhaps when we have digested all
that is rushing in on us, we will not be quite
so unaccountable as we are now. I'd give years
of my life to be able to see you my beloved
and your precious baby who soon will be quite
a little man - going on 5 years. I wanted so
to see him grow up. He has decided there
wise. I wonder when I shall see him again.
I keep on thinking of you all with great
longing. If only we could hear from you that
would relieve the awful tension.

Sam. me, will soon be away - where are you
going now Jan? Is it to be Woodstock again?
I know Teddy planned to spend the summer
here. Dear Teddy - he must be packing for
his trip and going. My love to him. I
am sure our Helena has regained a little
interest in life. Someday I am beginning to
understand her great grief better & why it
affected her so deeply. In the utterly absorbed
in a beloved being in an ages work and
then to be separated from every joy & a
terrible void made nothing but time & an
interest equally great can fill. I think our Helena
grief is aggravated by the fact that one can not
easily replace ones love or work after
time by new loves or interest - certainly not
at Helena's age. Give her my love
I think of her always with much tender
and sincere. Her great will say he ever
what Ben's affectionate greetings to her. And
how is he? I miss him terribly. I wish
I could have an old time talk with him. I
miss him. He is still my R-getting happier.
I'll tell him his old aunt is young & cheerful & may
yet have to call on him some day. Meanwhile
I give him my love and the other members of

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my family? My dear old mother - how is she? and
 your nephew Arthur Beattie, Muriel and
 her family, Mary, Margaret, and her wife? I don't
 meet you - how are you all? How is your mother?
 I have established myself as an old lady special
 now in the household. Tell him his patient is
 quite recovered from his old trouble. Remember
 me to him - to his wife and to his children. Edna James,
 much much love to all. I am very
 to Anna and Mary. Tell them I have
 their lovely gift and am very much
 sick often in your neck. I think of being
 more often since I am here - perhaps before
 of all our company. I am very much
 tortured largely by the voice of world-imperious
 is my. What about our own, Mr. How is he and
 his? I never in all my life longed to see
 him as I do now. His deep and
 standing - his sensitive spirit kept his
 sweet comradeship would help much to
 my troubled soul. Much, much love to him
 and his wife. There are so many
 friends I want to be remembered to - but you
 know them all. You will write or tell them
 that I have forgotten no one. I write a
 separate sheet. Tell me I am most impatient
 to know what the plans are. I miss you so
 much and miss the old days. I miss you so
 much. I shall see you again. Love to them
 to mother, Leonard, Bayard, and all. I
 understand our little village is kept very
 kindest greetings to him. Tell him I have
 think he has quite disposed of his star
 he means to keep him busy again some day.
 Dearest, dearest my heart is full. I hold you
 very close in love. Yours is what has become
 of little Ella? You are Peter's. Love to them.
 Greetings to all the comrades from I & myself.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 May 1, Petrograd [to] Ben [L. Reitman, Chicago] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p.; 22 × 15 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois at Chicago Library.

Petrograd May 1st 1920

Dear Haha. You will be surprised to get word from me after such a long period. I have sent you all sorts of messages through the post but I have written repeatedly but who knows whether any mail ever reached you. Everything is so uncertain now. Not one thing which is certain in my presence in Russia. I am here - I am very far away in my thoughts. I wish I could send a letter, dear old Ben. There are even so many things I'd like to tell you but I can not do it now. Surely we will meet some day. Now we will go - the time is near. Meanwhile I am working. Mr Clayton the business man who will mail this for me to see you when he gets to Chicago. He will be sure to tell you much. He has spent a week with us so he knows just how we feel and live. I think of you often and of the things that were. You used to say "life is strange" I am

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only I can realize how very
change & really to love for
and desires for a better
can be what is possible. For when
we realize our desires, we
find reality so very different
from our dreams. Often all
that is the nature of the ideal
is the ever changing and ever
receding. I am sure
Mr. Aptan will tell you
how to reach your dreams.
write, we are hampered for
news from our friends. Not
a word since we left. How
are you; Anna & Dmitri?
How are the comrades? Give
my love to all.
Affectionately, E. G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1920 May 25, Petrograd [to Stella Ballantine], N[ew] Y[ork] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

important

12573

Petrograd May 25th, 8 1920

My own beloved.

To day I had a letter from S who is in Moscow since the 15th, with copies of your two cables inclosed. Needless to say I am bitterly disappointed that Sugar and her companion can not make their trip. As to S, he is simply heart broken, he had looked forward so to seeing F. Well, it can not be helped. One more disappointment in life. It seems trivial compared with the large spiritual disappointments though it is nontheless painful. S has written you and F from Moscow. I may have a chance to send this out from here, if not it will go to Moscow first and from there on to Europe. I hope fervently it will reach you in due time. I am sending it to the lady who was good enough to forward your cables to Lansbury. Her name is Miss Korobovinka, Hotel Cosmopolite, Copenhagen, Sweden. You must write her your thanks for forwarding your cables. She may be able to forward a letter from you to me. You might also write L thanking him f with a letter for us which he may be able to send on. We must try all ways. You are indeed my clever sweetheart to have thought of our Finnish friend. Your letter reached me via Mr Alsberg the representative of the Nation, who arrived here two weeks ago with the English Mission. It was the first word from home outside of your cable via the Chicago Tribune. The news of our Helenas death was a terrible blow. Oh, I know, death was her deliverence from life which took all from her and gave her so little. Still, it is terribly painful to know that so great and sweet a spirit is no more. Fate was very cruel to our beloved Helena, it gave her neither childhood or youth. Her motherhood even was fraught with pain. First the struggle against poverty, then the still greater struggle for the realization of her dream for David. It is all so sad and so cruel. And my love for her, what did it ever do for her? Even the last small service I wanted to render was denied me. Yet I feel I might have nursed her back to life. She is at rest now our long suffering Helena. With us the pain and woe of the world goes on and on untill we two shall be at rest. I can well imagine how M. feels. I only hope her life will be fuller and more worth while in the future. Helenas children are not very favored by the Gods. Give Minnie my love I wish I might see her and give her a little of the love her great mother felt for her.

S and I are very glad we were not mistaken in the friend who brought you our letters, he was very lovely to all of us, we felt sure we could trust him. I hope he will see you often he is very much worth while. Of course, the officials would say our letters were "faked" we expected as much. That is only because officials never learn that the truth will out somehow. We are glad the World, Pearsons and the Liberator published some of our statements. I can well imagine that F H would pay well for letters from here. I wish I could write them but it is impossible for the present. We have not yet digested all or even half of what is rushing in on us, so we must wait for the present. The chap from the Tribune, Clayton, is his name brought with him the spirit of fellowship so scarce in struggling Russia now. He was with us a week we enjoyed him very much. He will tell you much that will explain our vagueness which must have surprised you considerably. Imagine, he lost his job on the Tribune because he would not write sensational stories about Russia. He expects to return for another paper. He may not go further than Paris and then return. In that case he will send you my letter and add his own to it.

The English Mission was here and is now in Moscow, Bertram Russell

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12574

is with them, very interesting man. If only they will grasp the black crime that the world is committing against poor suffering Russia. They are very touched by the hospitality they received. Will their protest when they reach home express itself only in mild words? S and I spent much time with the labor men and with Russell, we left nothing undone to impress upon their minds the debt the world owes to Russia, to the marvelous people who have already suffered so much. I wish I had a tongue of fire I should burn it into the hearts of the American people what crime is being committed against this great country.

About ourselves there is not much to say, we are quite alright physically. So far we have not wanted anything, the things we sent took along lasted until quite recently. And then Clayton sent us a lot of stuff from Reval. The basket was brought by Alsberg the Nation man. By the way, when he returns to America you must reimburse him, he gave Clayton the money, something like 8 pound. He will see you when he gets back which may not be very soon.

We will soon leave Petrograd for a months trip through Russia, we need to get in touch with the new R which is so different from the old. We will be back in Petrograd. I may then go into the work of the board of health, they are doing wonderful work, they have asked me to join them. In fact we have had all sorts of offers. But we want to do what will bring the greatest good to the Russian people and yet let us remain true to our ideal. But first of all, we must get close to the Russian people. At any rate dearest you can keep on writing some of your letters are bound to reach us. We will always keep in touch with the foreign office in M. Have just learned that I can send this letter from this end, will also send a copy to Miss Korobovinka. I hope one of the letters will reach you.

Darling there is so much I would like to say but this must go within an hour, besides, the uncertainty and delay of reaching you make writing very hard. I hope you will be able to read between the lines. My heart is full and my love for you my own greater and deeper than ever. I embrace you tenderly. Dearest own baby of ours, I am so glad he does not forget me. I long for him, oh so very much. Hug him for me. And Teddy does he ever speak of his old Tante, or has he quite forgotten me? Give him my love. So glad about dear Mos success, he could do wonders here. Such men as he are scarce here. Lots of love to him. And Saxe of course. He is ever in my mind. I can well imagine how dreadful your mother must feel the loss of Helena, they were so close together. Remember me to her most tenderly and to your father, Ruthie, Beansie, Hyman and his family, my brother Herman and all our N Y friends.

I would like to write F and Sugar separately but I can't today. Let them read this letter. Tell them both for me how deeply disappointed I am that we shall not see them so soon. But we have not given up hopes. Much love to both. To Max and family. I'd love to hear from him. Tell him we had direct words from the comrade who used to be editor of the Arb. Freund, he is very active in the trade unions in Germany. I must close now. Dearest, dearest I press you to my heart. Ever your own.

Emma Goldman
May 25, 1920

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 May 25, Petrograd [to Stella Ballantine], New York / E[mma] G[oldman].— 3 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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Petrograd, May 25th, 1920

My dear Stella,

Today I had a long letter from S who is in Moscow since the 18th, with copies of four cables inclosed. Needless to say I am bitterly disappointed that Sugar and her companion cannot make their trip. As to S, he is simply heart broken, he had looked forward so to seeing P. Well, it cannot be helped. One more disappointment in life. It seems trivial compared with the large spiritual disappointments though it is none the less painful. S. has written you and P. from Moscow. I may have a chance to send this out from here, if not, it will go to Moscow first and from there on to Europe. I hope fervently it will reach you in due time. I am sending it to the lady who was good enough to forward your cables to Lansbury to me. Her name is Miss Korobovinka, Hotel Cosmopolite, Copenhagen, Sweden. You must write her your thanks for forwarding your kumka cables. She may be able to forward a letter from you to me. You might also write L thanking him with a letter for us which he may be able to send on. We must try all ways. You are indeed my clever sweetheart to have thought of our Finnish friend. Your letter reached me via Mr. Alsberg, the representative of the NATION, who arrived here two weeks ago with the English Mission. It was the first word from outside of your cable via the Chicago Tribune. The news of our Helena's death was a terrible blow. Oh, I know, death was her deliverance from life which took all from her and gave her so little. Still, it is terribly painful to know that so great and sweet a spirit is no more. Fate was very cruel to our beloved Helena, it gave her neither childhood or youth. Her motherhood brought with pain. First, the struggle against poverty, then the still greater struggle for the realization of her dream for David. It is all so sad and so cruel. And my love for her, what did it ever do for her? Even the last small service I wanted to render was denied me. Yet I feel I might have nursed her back to life. She is at rest now, our long suffering Helena with us the pain and woe of the world goes on and on until we, too, shall be at rest. I can well imagine how Minnie feels. I only hope her life will be fuller and more worth while in the future. Helena's children are not very favored by the Gods. Give Minnie my love - I wish I might see her and give her a little of the great love her great mother felt for her.

S. and I are very glad we were not mistaken in the friend who brought you our letters - he was very lovely to all of us. We felt sure we could trust him. I hope he will see you often - he is very much worth while. Of course, the officials would say our letters were "faked". We expected as much. That is only because officials never learn that the truth will out somehow. We are glad the World, Pearsons and the Liberator published some of our statements. I can well imagine that Frank Harris would pay well for letters from here. I wish I could write them, but it is impossible for the present. We have not yet digested all, or even half of what is rushing in on us. So we must wait for the present. The chap from the Tribune, Clayton is his name brought with him the spirit of fellowship, so scarce in struggling Russia now. He was with us a week and we enjoyed him very much. He will tell you much that will explain our vagueness which must have surprised you considerably. Imagine, he lost his job on the Tribune because he would not write sensational stories about Russia. He expects to return in

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1920 May 25, Petrograd [to Stella Ballantine], New York / E[mma] G[oldman].— 3 p.; 23 × 18 cm.

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the another paper. He may not go further than Paris and then return, but in that case, he will send you my letter and add his own to it.

The English Mission was here and is now in Moscow. Bertrand Russell is with them - very interesting man. If only they will grasp the black crime that the world is committing against poor suffering Russia. They are very touched by the hospitality they received. Will their protest when they reach home express itself only in mild words? S. and I spent much time with the labor men and with Russell. We left nothing undone to impress upon their minds the debt the world owes to Russia, to the marvelous people who have already suffered so much. I wish I had a tongue of fire - I would burn it into the hearts of the American people what crime is being committed against this great country.

About ourselves there is not much to say. We are quite all right physically. So far, we have not wanted anything. The things we took along lasted until quite recently. And then Clayton sent us a lot of stuff from Rival. The basket was brought by Alberg, the Nation Man. By the way, when he returns to America, you must reimburse him - he gave Clayton the money, something like eight pounds. He will see you when he gets back, which may not be very soon.

We will soon leave Petrograd for a month's trip through Russia. We need to get in touch with the new Russia which is so different from the old. ~~We will be back in Petrograd for a few days and go into the work of the Board of Health.~~ They are doing wonderful work. They have asked me to join them. In fact, we have had all sorts of offers. But we want to do what will bring the greatest good to the Russian people and yet let us remain true to our ideal. But first of all, we must get close to the Russian people. At any rate, dearest, you can keep on writing - some of your letters are bound to reach us. We will always keep in touch with the foreign office in Moscow. Have just learned that I can send this letter from this end. Will also send a copy to Miss Korobovinka. I hope one of the letters will reach you.

Darling, there is so much I would like to say, but this must go within an hour, besides, the uncertainty and delay in reaching you makes writing very hard. I hope you will be able to read between the lines. My heart is full, and my love for you, my own, is greater and deeper than ever. I embrace you tenderly. Dearest own baby of ours - I am so glad he does not forget me. I long for him, oh, so very much! Hug him for me. And Teddy - does he ever speak of his old Tante, or has he quite forgotten me? Give him my love. So glad about dear Mo's success - he could do wonders here. Such men as he are scarce here. Lots of love to him. And Saxe, of course. He is ever in my mind. I can well imagine how dreary your mother must feel the loss of Helena - they were so close together. Remember me to her most tenderly and to your father, Ruthie, Beansie, Hyman and his family - my brother Herman and all the New York friends.

I would like to write F. and Sugar separately, but I can't today. Let them read this letter. Tell them both for me how deeply disappointed I am that we shall not see them so

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To Max and family. I'd love to hear from him. Tell him we had
direct words from the Starke who used to be editor of the
Arbeiter Freund. He is very active in the trade unions in
Germany. I must close now. Dearest, dearest, I press
you to my heart. Ever yourb own.
E.

P.S. Love to Juju, Ellen, Gertrude, Leon Malmé, Elizabeth
Gurley Flynn, etc etc, etc.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1920 May 25, Petrograd to Stella Ballantine, New York (government transcript)] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 26 x 17 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

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A. R. 10211
Morris I. Levin

Rosfel Mallen

William E. Henry

Winnie E. Branstetter

Morris Backall

J. Louis Hagdahl.

William Feigenbaum

Paul Glaser

S. Galant

George Keep.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

"The Chicago Socialist" in its issue for July 10th, 1920 prints the following letter purporting to be from Emma Goldman:

"Today I had a letter from A. B. (Alexander Berkman, who is in Moscow since the 15th, with copies of your two cables enclosed. Also received your letter written the latter part of March. This was the first word from any of you in America.

"We were very glad to learn that we were not mistaken in the friend who brought you our letters from the Buford. Of course, the officials would say that our letters were 'faked'. We expected as much. That is because officials never learn that the truth will out somehow. I wish that we were able to send out letters from here for the press, but for the present it is impossible.

"The English Mission was here and is now in Moscow. Bertrand Russell is with them. He is a very interesting man.

"If only they will grasp the black crime that the world is committing against Russia! They are very touched by the hospitality they received here in Russia. Will their protests, when they reach home, express itself in mild words?

Floods for Tongue of Fire.

Berkman and I spent much time with the labor men and with Russell. We left nothing undone to impress upon their minds the debt the world owes to Russia - to the marvellous people who have already suffered so much.

I wish I had a tongue of fire; I would burn it into the heads of the American people what a crime is being committed against this great country.

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E. J. 1114

May 15th, 1920

wanted for anything. The things we took along lasted until quite recently, and then a lot of stuff was brought to us by a friend coming from Naval.

"We soon leave Petrograd for a month's trip thru Russia. We need to get in touch with the new Russia, which is so different from the old. We will come back to Petrograd.

"I may then go into the work of the Board of Health. They are doing wonderful work. They have asked me to join them. In fact, we have had all sorts of offers. But we want to do what will bring the greatest good to the Russian people and yet let us remain true to our ideal. But first of all we must get close to the Russian people.

"Tell our friends that we had direct word from the Comrade who used to be editor of the Arbeiter-Freund. He is very active in the trade unions in Germany.

"Berjman writes us that Max Fine and Pat Quinlan are in Moscow, also Fisher of Chicago. You will be surprised to know that we received copies of the New York Call dated December 21, 22 and 23. Love to all our friends and Comrades.

EMMA GOLDMAN"

AHL/KS

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1920 May 25, Petrograd to Stella Ballantine, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 40 x 7 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Una lettera di Emma Goldmann

Un'altra smentita alle asserzioni della stampa forcaiola

New York luglio (E. S. Abate) — Qualche tempo fa dal « New York Times » — organo massimo dell'alta finanza americana — veniva pubblicata una supposta intervista del suo corrispondente in Russia con Emma Goldmann, in cui si faceva apparire la nostra compagna come stanca e disgustata del regime sovietico e tutta desiderosa di ritornare in America a godere le... libertà della grande repubblica. Si parlava pure d'una bandierina americana che la Goldmann terrebbe esposta sul suo scrittoio.

Inutile aggiungere che la presunta intervista occupava un posto prominente sul « Times » ed è stata subito riprodotta da tutta la stampa peccanescanica americana (1). A pochi giorni di distanza però la signorina Comyns, nipote della compagna Goldmann, ha ricevuto da Pietrogrado una lettera di quest'ultima, lettera di cui vi trasmetto la traduzione, sicuro che riuscirà d'interesse ai compagni d'Italia. Eccola:

« Oggi ho ricevuto lettera da A.B. (Alessandro Berkman) che trovasi a Mosca fin dal 15 corr. con accluso copie dei tuoi due cablogrammi. Ho pure ricevuto tua lettera scritta fine marzo. Questa è stata la prima corrispondenza che mi giungesse da uno di voi di America. Siamo rimasti molto contenti nell'apprendere di non esserci sbagliati sul conto dei nostri amici che vi han rimesso le nostre lettere dal « Buford » (nome del piroscafo americano che compì il tragitto di deportazione). Era da aspettarsi che si tentasse di metterne in dubbio l'autenticità da chi non si è ancora persuaso che, in un modo o nell'altro, la verità vien sempre alla luce. Vorrei che potessimo mandare di qui le nostre lettere per la stampa; ma pel momento ciò non è possibile.

« I componenti la missione raburista inglese sono stati qui a Pietrogrado. Ora sono a Mosca. Bertrand Russell si trova con loro. Egli è un uomo assai interessante. Se almeno essi riuscissero a rendersi conto di tutta l'infamia che il mondo sta commettendo al danni della Russia! Essi si sono mostrati assai sensibili per la cordiale ospitalità ricevuta qui in Russia. Di ritorno al loro paese, sapranno essi almeno esprimere la loro protesta con le parole che convengono?

« Berkman ed io abbiamo speso parecchio tempo con i delegati laburisti e con Russell. Nulla trascurammo di quanto valesse ad imprimere nelle loro menti tutto il debito di gratitudine che il mondo ha contratto con la Russia rivoluzionaria, con questo popolo meraviglioso che ha già tanto sofferto. Vorrei avere una lingua di fuoco per trasfondere con parole roventi nel cuore degli americani la nozione profonda del crimine che si sta commettendo contro questo grande paese.

« Di noi non v'è molto da dire. Fisicamente siamo abbastanza bene. Finora non abbiamo avuto bisogno di alcunchè. Le provviste che portammo con noi ci son bastate fino a recente data; poi una gran quantità di materiale c'è stato portato da un amico da Reval. Lasciamo Pietrogrado tra poco per compiere un giro attraverso la Russia, che durerà un mese. Ci occorre prendere contatto con la nuova Russia, che è tanto differente dalla vecchia. Poi ritorneremo a Pietrogrado. Molto probabilmente mi occuperò nel dipartimento dell'igiene pubblica. Vi si sta facendo un lavoro meraviglioso, al quale sono stata richiesta di associarmi. Ci vennero fatte parecchie proposte; ma noi intendiamo fare ciò che potrà apportare il più gran bene al popolo della Russia pur permettendoci di rimaner fedele alle nostre idee. Prima di ogni altra cosa occorre di metterci in contatto col popolo russo.

« Dirai agli amici che abbiamo potuto metterci in comunicazione diretta col compagno editore dell'« Arbeiter Freund » (Rod. Rocker). Egli è molto attivo nel movimento operato in Germania.

« Saluti a tutti gli amici e compagni. Emma Goldmann ».

(1) E da qualche organo forcaiolo continentale e nostrano (N.d.R.), ...

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1920 May 25, Petrograd to Stella Ballantine, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 24 × 14 cm.

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Estimada Compañera Comyns:

Hoy he recibido carta de Berkman, quiea se halla en Moscú desde el 15 del corriente, incluyéndose copias de dos cablegramas tuyos. He recibido también tu carta fechada en marzo. Esta ha sido la primera correspondencia que me llegara de uno de vosotros de América. Hemos quedado muy contentos al saber de no habernos equivocado de la confianza que merecen nuestros amigos que te han remitido nuestra correspondencia del "Bufford". Era de esperar que se probara de ponernos en duda la autenticidad por quien no se convencido aun que, la verdad, de un modo o de otro, siempre sale a la luz. Quisiera que pudiésemos enviar desde aquí nuestras cartas para los diarios; pero por el momento eso no es posible.

Los componentes de la misión laborista inglesa han estado aquí en Petrogrado. Ahora están en Moscú. Bertrand Russell se halla con ellos. Es un hombre muy interesante. ¡Si al menos se dieran cuenta de toda la infamia que el mundo está cometiendo contra Rusia! Ellos se han mostrado demasiado sensibles por la hospitalidad afectuosa que en Rusia se les ha brindado. De regreso a su país, ¡sabrán ellos al menos expresar su protesta con las palabras que convenga!

Berkman y yo hemos empleado mucho tiempo con los delegados laboristas y con Russell. Nada descuidamos de cuanto valiera para poder imprimir en sus mentes toda la deuda de gratitud que el mundo ha contraído con la Rusia revolucionaria, con este pueblo maravilloso que tanto ha sufrido ya. Quisiera tener una lengua de fuego para trasfundir con palabras ardientes en el corazón de los americanos la noción profunda del crimen que se está cometiendo contra este gran país.

De nosotros no hay mucho que decir. Físicamente, estamos bastante bien. Hasta ahora no hemos tenido necesidad de nada. Las provisiones que llevamos con nosotros, nos han bastado.

— 17 —

hasta la fecha; después una gran cantidad de material nos ha sido proporcionado por un amigo de Reval. Dejaremos Petrogrado dentro de poco para hacer una gira a través de Rusia, que durará un mes. Es menester entrar en contacto con la nueva Rusia, que es muy diferente de la vieja. Después volveremos a Petrogrado. Muy probablemente me ocuparé en el Departamento de Higiene Pública. Se está realizando un trabajo maravilloso, para el cual he sido solicitada a colaborar. Nos han hecho varias propuestas, pero nosotros pensamos hacer todo aquello que pueda aportar el mayor beneficio al pueblo de Rusia permitiéndoles permanecer fieles a nuestras ideas. Pero antes que toda otra cosa, es necesario que nos pongamos en contacto con el pueblo ruso.

Dirás a los amigos que hemos conseguido ponernos en comunicación directa con el compañero editor del "Arbeiter Freund" (Rodolfo Recker). Es muy activo en el movimiento obrero de Alemania.

Saludos a todos los amigos y compañeros.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 8, Petrograd [to] Stella [Ballantine], N[ew] Y[ork] / E[mma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Petrograd, June 8th, 1920

12547

Darling:-

I am sure you must be feeling as I do writing into space. It is agony not to know whether my letters reach you. Still greater is the torture not to hear from you or any one else at home. Do not think I blame you, how could I knowing that you are trying desperately to reach us somehow. I am convinced that you have written many times but outside of your letters dated March 15th and 30th and three cables nothing arrived. It is the more aggravating because friends from N.Y. keep coming in, one arrived only last week. He phoned our mutual friend on Broadway (meaning me -F) but received no answer. It is too bad. Well, it cannot be helped. One must practice patience.

Nothing has happened in our lives since I wrote you last. Sasha has returned from Moscow where he was for two weeks to help with some translations for the English Mission. We met them all here except Margaret Bonfield who passed through to Moscow. Bertrand Russell is the most interesting of the party. He had dinner in our rooms. Then, there is Alsberg from the "Nation" - very charming chap - he brought us a basket of stuff from Reval which was bought by Clayton, another fine boy, a Tribune man. He may be in the States by this time. He was to sail from France last month. If he has he will bring you all sorts of news from us. He was with us the week he spent in Petrograd. He will also tell you how you might reach us more directly though there is really no definite route for the present.

We have been trying hard to find our bearing but have not been very successful so far. Perhaps when we return from our journey we will feel clearer in our minds and more at peace in our souls. Oh, yes, I forgot to tell you that we have joined the work of the Musée of the Revolution, which has been organized for the purpose of gathering material of the revolution. The scope is very large and of great importance for the future. Just think of it, a Musée which will have data of the struggle of a hundred years to free Russia. It will be the most unique collection in the world. Well, a small group of people are starting out, we among them on a long journey to gather all sorts of material of a revolutionary nature and even material from those who worked and still work against the revolution. We will be gone about two months and will cover many cities. The trip will give us the most needed chance to get acquainted with the new Russia of which we are woefully ignorant. Especially the Russian people who have gone through such a transformation. What a people! What capacity for suffering. What capacity for sacrifice. If the present statesmen of the world were not so utterly dense they would realize the futility - not to speak of the crime - to crush the spirit of the Russian people. No power on earth can do that. Statesmen were never blessed with much wisdom, but the present men of the various powers are such fools. Perhaps after each country has had its mission here its rulers will sit up and take notice - perhaps they will become aware of the cowardly crime they have been perpetrating upon Russia's women and children. May the miracle happen soon since nothing short of a miracle is necessary to make rulers see the light.

Though we will be removed from the center, Moscow and Petrograd, where one may send out a letter some time and receive one on rare occasions, we will nevertheless keep on writing and you must do the same. We will no doubt be able to get in touch with the foreign office and if there is any mail for us we will get it somehow. In any event we will get it on our return from the trip. As you probably will not be able to send the things you bought for us, you might use the dress material for yourself. I have managed to get a large linen sheet of the old word

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-2-

12548

linen of which Russia used to have so much. Out of that I made two summer dresses. Then I remodeled my green dress, so I can pull through the summer. Sasha Kropotkin got me a hat - a simple sailor - you'd pass away if I were to tell you the price. My great trouble is lack of shoes. Impossible to wear the shoes you bought me - they are too small. I wore one pair for a week and ruined my left foot so now I suffer even in my old ones. My summer shoes are old and torn and it is impossible to get them repaired here. I don't know how I will pull through. One manages somehow when one must. Man is the only animal who can get used to almost anything.

As I said we will know better when we return from our trip where we stand as to our place in Russia - until then it is hardly worth while to send us all the things we asked for unless you have a good opportunity. You may, however, send us money if some one reliable comes along to the foreign office, as I have mentioned before. Should the miracle happen and Aline be able to make her deferred trip, she can bring the things along. We are sure to get together. She should then ask for Ravitch who holds the post of Commissar of Interior and is stationed in Petrograd, at the Hotel Astoria, room 412. She will be able to direct her how to get in touch with us. Ravitch is a very lovable woman and a most able person.

See Frank Harris for me. Tell him it is quite impossible for me to write much as I would love to do so. He must know from personal experience that when one's mind is in a turmoil one cannot write, at least nothing worth while. And unless one is able to write with one's soul on fire one must not write at all. I don't know whether I will ever again be able to write or to speak. I am quite sure I cannot do it now. Remember me very kindly to A. H. Tell him I hope to meet him again somewhere sometime in the not too distant future.

been

I see by the papers that Mollie has at last released from Blackwell's only to be sent to that awful treadmill in Missouri. Poor child - she has an ordeal before her. But she is so wonderfully brave. You are quite right - she is the most heroic girl in America. It makes me shudder to think that she is to waste away under Smithy's "kindly" care. You will write her often Stella darling and send her little things. She must not feel that she is neglected. My love to her. And to Kate. I am so sorry to learn that she has been ill. I know what it means to be sick in that awful place, especially since Dr. McHearney is away - he was at least human.

What about Louise Oliverau? Her time must be up. Be sure to write me about her and give her my love. What about Kramer? He would be helpless here. (he is worse than helpless here - F) Remember me to him. We read that brave Gene was removed to a farm. How long are they going to keep him and what an outrage that there is no sign of amnesty for the politicals. If for no other reason our politicians should let the war prisoners out to make room for the numerous post-war prisoners. If America goes on in her mad reaction she will soon have to build more prisons. I wish we could have taken some of the American Osars with us last Sunday to Schuesselbourg, the historic political prison where some of the greatest revolutionary heroes of Russia were confined and murdered. They would have gotten a lesson in the inevitable end of governments. The people have the tendency to rise sometime - they never forget.

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[Letter] 1920 June 8, Petrograd [to] Stella [Ballantine], N[ew] Y[ork] / E[mma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-2-

(214)

I am getting too large as I will have to stop though I still have much I would like to say. Oh for a long talk with you my dearest, and how I am glad. When will I see you again and hold you close to me. It seems years since I saw you last. I can only hope and hope that we may be together sometime soon. And our baby, he must be a big little man by this time. Hug him for me. I am so glad your dear mother will be out of that dreadful black into a decent house. Our own Helena - her life as well as her death must be in the terrible gloom of Joseph and Clinton Ave. I cannot get used to our loss of our own beloved Helena. Remember me to your family dearest. My love to them, to Saxe, Arthur and the rest of the Rochester family. To Mo and all my dear ones in N.Y. Much love.

L.

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[Letter] 1920 June 8 [Petrograd to] Stella [Ballantine], N[ew] Y[ork] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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June 8th. 1920

12578

Darling. I am sure you must be feeling as I do writing into space. It is here agony not to know whether my letters reach you. Still greater is the torture not to hear from you or any one else at home. Do not think I blame you, how could I knowing that you are trying desperately to reach us somehow. I am convinced that you have written many times but outside of your letters dated March 15, and 30th and three cables nothing arrived. It is the more aggravating because friends from N Y keep coming in, one arrived only last week. He phoned our mutual friend on Broadway but received no answer. It is too bad. Well, it can not be helped. One must practice patience.

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[Letter] 1920 June 8 [Petrograd to] Stella [Ballantine], N[ew] Y[ork] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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12576

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What about Louise Cliverau? Her time must be up, be sure to write me about her and give her my love. What about Kramer? He would be 1 helpless here. Remember me to him. We read that brave Gene was removed to a farm. How long are they going to keep him and what an outrage that there is no sign of amnesty for the politicals? If for no other reason our politicalians should let the war prisoners out to make room for the numerous post war prisoners. If America goes on in her mad reaction she will soon have to build mor prisons. I wish we could have taken some of the American Zars with us last Sunday to Schuesselbourg, the historic political prison where some the greatest revolutionary heroes of Russia were confined and murdered, they would have gotten a lesson in the inevitable end of all governments. The people have the tendency to rise sometimes, they never forget.

My letter is getting too long so I will have to stop though I still have so much I would like to say. O for a long talk with you my dearest, what would I not give. When will I see you again and hold you close to me? It seems years since I saw you last. I can only hope and hope that we may be together sometime soon. And our baby, he must be a big little man by this time. Hug him for me. I am so glad your dear mother will be out of that dreadful block in a decent home. Our own Hepena her life as well as her death must needs be in the terrible gloom of Joseph and Clint on Ave. I can not get used to our irreparable loss of our own beloved H. Remember me to your people dearest, my love to them, to Saxe, Ruthie and the rest of the R family. To Mo and all my dear ones in N Y. Much love

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June [15] - 29, Petrograd [to] Stella [Ballantine and M. Eleanor] F[itzgerald, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

life be good to you. Whether we shall ever meet again, who knows? I am losing hope, together with many other things I have been losing since December. But still I cling to the straws of possibilities. If I could at least hear from yourself as to how things stand, and whether the near or even the distant future may be looked forward to with any expectation. But in any event, and whatever may be hidden in the lap of the Gods for me, should even no line ever reach you from me again, you need but re-read my notes from Ellis Island, or to recollect their contents in case the notes do not exist any more, and to feel that they express my feelings now just as they did then. That is sufficient to say, and I know you will understand, even if you can reach me with no reply.

My thoughts fly to you across the seas and the mountains, and all the love of my heart.

Sasha

Darling Stella and F. I really have nothing to add to the above except my own anxiety about you all and my longing for word from you. For you precious child of mine I have some news about Orsenoff. He is alive and playing in Kasa. The sister of a girl I met here arrived from there. She was in his company and gave me all the news about him. You can imagine I glad I was to learn that he is still active. The more so because no one here seemed to know anything about him. Some said he was dead, others that he is in an asylum. I understand Orsenoff is doing nothing new but that in his old repertoire he is now up. It will be interesting to meet him under the new circumstances. Dearest, dearest girls if only you knew how hungry we are for word from you both and our other friends. I believe our inner struggle would not be quite so poignant as it now is, if only we were in touch with you and could exchange our thoughts. As it is the struggle grows more difficult to bear. We are glad we will soon be moving on, at least we will learn to know R. and at the same time gather the material which will enable us to make a thorough study of the forces which led to the Oct Revolution and its painful aftermath. Sweetheart Stella, I am sending one of these letters to your dear mother with a line of greeting.

Good by my beloved children, hug Ian for me. Give my love to Teddy, Mo, Max and family, Dr W, Dr Goldwater, the Cohns if they have returned, Ellen, Gertrude, Hutch, Bayard, Leonard Rose and Marie, Anna and Rose Strunsky, Edwin, our own faithful H W, and all, all our friends and comrades. I embrace you both both tenderly. Your devoted and lonely

Remember me also to Alec Cohn Polya, Hilda, Ella with much love, And dear Juju of course,

le.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June [15] - 29, Petrograd [to] Stella [Ballantine and M. Eleanor] Fitzgerald, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. - 2 p. ; 24 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

Petrograd, June 29, 1920

P.S.

Dearest Girl:

Can add a line. This letter is to go per a friend, in a ~~few~~ few days. Tomorrow we leave for the South. Will stop at Moscow for about a week. Nothing special to add to my letter, only that I miss you extremely, and am very anxious to know whether I may expect a meeting. In any part of the world. I hope you will soon find a way to get in touch with me.-- I have written so many letters without getting a single line in reply that I have not the heart to write any more.

Much love to you. Kindly remember me to Pauline, Vicky, Maxie, Stella, and the whole family-- large and small.

Sasha

Darling Stell and Lioness. Last Sunday was the 27th, of June, the sadest day for me in many years. Not that I was completely forgotten by our friends. Infact it was most touching to get flowers from people who spent a whole month's salary, two thousand rubles for several roses. But with you my children so far away the 27th made me feel cast out. It is awful to be torn out root and all from ones moorings thrown into a new and strange land. Try as one may one can not adjust oneself to the new setting and circumstances. But one must learn to bear up under great strain. We are going on a journey, that is something, at least we will get in touch with the people and learn their reaction to the great change. Then too, we will see Russia. What a strange and mysterious land it is. If only we could have news from you, just a word would relieve the tension. I do so hope we may find something in Moscow. Well, dearest ones it must be hot in N.Y. I hope you are out somewhere in the cool. I suppose Teddy is painting in Woodstock. I met a very interesting painter here, Futurist, he and several other painters are anxious to arrange an exhibition in America. I hope they succeed. I must close dearest mine. My heart is heavy with longing for you.

Love to all our people and dear ones. Love to you both. I embrace and kiss you both. Kiss our darling baby for me.

Devotedly

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 27, Chicago [to] Emma [Goldman, Petrograd] / Ben [L. Reitman].— 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.
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Chicago Ill. June 27th. 1920.

Dear little Monny:
 It June 27th. again.
 Your birthday .
 My heart turns to you.
 Brain is flooded with memories.
 Of our happy years together.
 Especially of your Birthdays.
 Do you remember the first one?

We spent together in Sunny Calif.
 Remember the Corals and the flowers.
 Lilly is dead and Rudy married again.
 Remember the one in San Francisco.
 When Joe and Morton and Caplan .
 Were with us , so was little Ben.
 Was it on your birthday.
 When we were in the Bellingham jail.

Jail, that makes me think.
 It was or is 5 years since .
 We spent your birthday together.
 Four years in Queens County.
 Three years ago in Calif.
 (And you on trial) in New York
 Two years I in Warrensville.
 And you in Jefferson City.

Yes life is strange.
 And when I thinks about the things.
 That was and is , I am glad:
 Greatful for thoes glorious years .
 That we worked , played and loved.
 We did things , you carved.
 Your name in history(I helped a little).
 And made thousands love and revere you.

It was here (Chicago, Mar. 1908³
 Now you are in far off Russia.
 Exiled, but not isolated.
 Reported but not castout.
 You will come back.
 America is big, beautiful.
 And when she awakens to your usefulness.
 She will weloome you back.

An occassional word. (2 letters)
 The Tribune story come to me.
 It is cruel not to permit.
 Mail and wires between any lands.
 In the long silences I felt assured.
 That all would be well with you.
 And the Cosmos was completwing and perfeoting.
 Greater than Bakunin, Kropotkin Tolstoy.

Man, may be unjust Governments cruel.
 But time is always just and kind.
 You will cometo your own.
 And your own shall receive you.
 Your arch enemy the N. Y. Tribune.
 pad an editorial suggesting you return.
 Brains. integrity courage are always rewarded .
 Even in America. You will come back.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 27, Chicago [to] Emma [Goldman, Petrograd] / Ben [L. Reitman].— 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

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With me it is as you would expect.
A successful Dr. business very good.
A well liked prison physician.
A popular with prisoners as I was with outcasts.
A sort of a 3rd. class politician.
Kind of useful and cheerful around the City Hall.
Still talking much in Hall and Street.
Talked at Theological seminary and to Bartenders Union.

Joined the Press Club, Art Institute & House of Blues.
Enjoy it all, the Press club most of all.
Was arrested at Press club banquet at Sherman Hotel.
For carrying a half pint on hip.
Being "respectable" case dismissed without a trial.
Subscribed to Irish cause, Catholic charities.
But bucked against the Jewish relief.
Have the reputation of having a bank roll.

Many of our old friends have stayed at our home.
Ella, after J. C. looking lovely.
Kate O'hare & Frank. (Anna awfully fond of him.
Bob Minor, Mary Weston Vose (got really acquainted with her.
C. V. is working for the Coops. Sp. is Sercombe.
They are making a great success of it.
Jo Anton working for Jewish tailors happy and successful.
All comrades not in jail seem prosperous.

Home life apparently successful.
Brutus big, happy and a joygiver.
Anna Well, lovely and devoted.
Mother, ill, cheerless wants Calif.
Hobo "he will get by somehow".
Willie not all together idle.
But he always hankers for Miss T. B.
All is good, God knows his business.

Hundreds of your old friends.
Ask about you as I meet them.
All speak well of the dead and deported.
Clayton article in the paper.
Excited a lot of interest.
Parts of my letters were published.
Hear little from Stella or Witzie.
America is as you left it.

Well what about you and Russia.
Is prohibition enforced and a success.
Are the Bolsheviks good lovers.
Do you get all you want to read.
Glad art and Drama is good in Russia.
Do they really make everybody labor.
Be happy and cheerful, someday we will meet.
With love and devotion.

Mother and Anna send their love.
Brutus still has your blocks.
And says Emma went away on the Choo Choo train.
He always shows every body Emma picture on the wall.
Send me a new photo.
"A little one shall become a thousand,
And a strange small one a strong nation:
I the Lord will hasten it at his time.

B E N

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 29, Petrograd [to] Stell[a Ballantine] and [M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 1 p.; 26 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

Petrograd, June 29, 1920

P.S.

Dearest Girl:

Can add a line. This letter is to go per a friend, in a ~~few~~ few days. Tomorrow we leave for the South. Will stop at Moscow for about a week. Nothing special to add to my letter, only that I miss you extremely, and am very anxious to know whether I may expect a meeting. In any part of the world. I hope you will soon find a way to get in touch with me.-- I have written so many letters without getting a single line in reply that I have not the heart to write any more.

Much love to you. Kindly remember me to Pauline, Vicky, Maxie, Stella, and the whole family-- large and small.

Sasha

Darling Stell and Lioness. Last Sunday was the 27th, of June, the saddest day for me in many years. Not that I was completely forgotten by our friends. In fact it was most touching to get flowers from people who spent a whole month's salary, two thousand rubles for several roses. But with you my children so far away the 27th made me feel cast out. It is awful to be torn out root and all from one's moorings--thrown into a new and strange land. Try as one may one can not adjust oneself to the new setting and circumstances. But one must learn to bear up under great strain. We are going on a journey, that is something, at least we will get in touch with the people and learn their reaction to the great change. Then too, we will see Russia. What a strange and mysterious land it is. If only we could have news from you, just a word would relieve the tension. I do so hope we may find something in Moscow. Well, dearest ones it must be hot in N.Y. I hope you are out somewhere in the cool. I suppose Teddy is painting in Woodstock. I met a very interesting painter here, Futurist, he and several other painters are anxious to arrange an exhibition in America. I hope they succeed. I must close dearest mine. My heart is heavy with longing for you.

Love to all our people and dear ones. Love to you both. I embrace and kiss you both. Kiss our darling baby for me.

Devotedly

g

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]20 Sept. 12, Odessa [U.S.S.R. to V.I.] Lenin, [Moscow] / Alexander Berkman [and] Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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20?

Odessa, September 12. 20

3

Dear Comrade Lenin: —

It may be known to you that we are members of the special expedition sent by the Museum of Revolution, of Petrograd, to collect material on the Ukraina, Don and the Caucasus in connection with the revolutionary movement of Russia, since its inception, and the revolution of 1917 up to the present day.

The Expedition consists of six persons, carrying mandates of Comrades Galinin, Zinoviev, Petrovsky etc. By special permission of Comrade Zinoviev, the well-known correspondent of the London "Daily Herald" and of the New York "Nation" ^{Mr. H. Alsterg} was permitted to join our party. He travelled with us from Moscow, through

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]20 Sept. 12, Odessa [U.S.S.R. to V.I.] Lenin, [Moscow] / Alexander Berkman [and] Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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2) Харков and Kiev, in the car of an Expedition.

On August 30th, at the Station of Muepauka, Mr. Alsbury was arrested by members of the local police, on telegraphic orders of the Moscow "Z. K." No reason for the arrest was assigned, and we are in absolute ignorance as to the cause for the arrest. Now, dear Comrade, APR 1 1921
1005-1006 we are confident that the deplorable incident is due to some misunderstanding. The occurrence is the more unfortunate because we know Mr. Alsbury as a most worthy person, thoroughly reliable and fully in sympathy with the

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3) Russian Revolution. His con- 4
Tribunals to the English and American
press were always of the most
favorable character and were effective
in shaping public sentiment in
behalf of Russia.

On the day of Mr. Alsheng's
arrest we wired you about the matter.
But we do not know whether the
message reached you. We also wired
and wrote to Comrade Chicherin, who
knows Mr. Alsheng personally. Till now
we have received no word concerning
Mr. Alsheng's fate. We urge you,
Comrade Lenin, to look into this
matter immediately and to use your
best efforts toward the liberation

The Emma Goldman Papers

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4) of Mr. Alsbury, who surely deserves better treatment at the hands of Russia.

We may add that all the papers of Mr. Alsbury were in the best of order. He even had a special paper of the B.Z.K., giving him permission to leave the country at any time desired.

Hoping that you will at once give this serious matter your attention,

We remain, fraternally,
Alexander Berkman
Emma Goldman

P.S. Mr. Alsbury was arrested by order of Menusevskob, of the O.O.B.Z.K. in Moscow.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1920] Oct. 23 [- 24] Moscow [to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / [Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Moscow, Oct. 23

12527

Dearest Fizzle mine;

Today is Friday, yesterday arrived with E, in town, having been on the road since June 29, when we left Petrograd for the trip South. Found some of your and other letters, which - need I say - filled our hearts with joy by the mere fact of a letter from our loved ones. Out of Moscow it was impossible to hear anything even of Moscow or Petro, not to speak of Europe or America. You can picture to yourself our anxiety to get hold of yours, Stella's, etc mail, once we arrived in town and heard there was mail. Here are the dates of the letters received, 1st July 8th St. to E. 2. Your letter to E. July 29, 3. S letter to me July 30. 4. P's letter from Provincetown July 30, Your letter, Aug. 26. Some persons whom you mention as having letters to us are in Riga, expected here soon. We saw the girl friend of Rose. She gave me \$150, pair of shoes for E. and some thin s for Ethel.

Lights went out, can't write more.

Saturday morning. Dearest F. St. Pol. Bob, etc. (This is also in E's name) as we haven't much time we must leave today for P. to turn over to the Museum of the Revolution the materials we gathered and to make a report of the work of our expedition. We are terribly sorry we must leave today - the funeral of John Reed is tomorrow, and yet it seems impossible for us to attend much as we should like to do so and to pay our tribute to poor Jack who suffered much, because he understood much, and who died a martyr to the Russian revolution. If at all possible we shall countermand the order to attach our car to the train that leaves tonight for Petrograd, and remain for the funeral. You can imagine how Louise feels. Jack was at the Baku Conference when she reached Moscow. He returned to Moscow, sick with typhoid. She nursed him day and night but even her great love and devotion could not save his life. She is in a highly nervous state, hope she doesn't break down completely. We are with her most of the time while we are here. Unfortunately as I said we have to rush back to Petrograd, without opportunity to see the many local friends we had not seen for four months, and the comrades and friends, recently arrived from the U.S. and other points. Numerous visitors here. The Doctor that nursed me in N.Y. arrived here yesterday with his party. Saw him for a few minutes. We are to meet him today. The man from Chicago that gave me the fountain pen is also here.

Shall write in greater detail later. At present just to inform you that some of your mail reached us. The things you would like to hear about, Bob's questions, etc. believe me nothing would please us more than to write and write and write, and share our views and impressions, but there is neither time nor opportunity just now, much as we would wish to do so.

Now a few words to you, dear Fitz, Your letter was a godsend. It pains me to know that my letters hurt you, my dear. Believe me, they were prompted by my worry and anxiety. Don't imagine me lacking in faith, at any rate as concerns you, my faith is unbounded. So you rest at ease on that score, even if I lose my temper occasionally. But I love you more than last year and with a beautiful and fine spirit I never met. I realize the gigantic task it was to issue the Jewish book, and now the second Eng. edition also. I know how hard you must have worked. You need a vacation badly, though you yourself say

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1920] Oct. 23 [- 24] Moscow [to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / [Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12558

little about your work, I can judge from Stella's letter to use an Americanism, you have been working your head off. At present I can tell you very little about our plans for the near future. We are first of all to report about our work of the past three and a half months to the Museum, and then we shall decide what to do further. The Museum is planning an expedition to Siberia and it is possible we may join same. But there are no plans whatever being formed by us at present, for we must first finish the work we have in hand. If there present itself an opportunity, we may go for a visit to some European country. At any rate, if letters keep on reaching us, c/o Foreign Affairs Office, Moscow.

The trip was tremendously interesting and instructive, and at times even a bit exciting too, as there was at times danger of falling into the hands of the Polish army, when we were in the War Zone or rather near it. When we were in Poltava, robber bands were making the trains, but we passed through without mishap. Unfortunately we did not get to the Caucasus as that was on our schedule. We had to pass through Rostov on our way there and that city was being threatened by Wrangel. As our time limit was up at the end of the month, we had to return to Pet., via Moscow.

We visited many cities, villages, etc. and became acquainted with the Ukraine and its people -- a beautiful rich country that would prosper in every sense were it not for the perpetual change of government and its accompanying bloodshed, destruction and misery. We have been in ~~the~~ parts of the Ukraine that have had 12-14 different governments within the last 2 years. Among the places we were also in Charkov, Kiev, Poltava, Odessa, Nikolaev, etc. Everywhere found rich ~~and~~ revolutionary material for the Museum. Yes, I forgot to mention that while in Kiev I got up one morning to find that I had neither trousers nor shoes to put on. While we were sleeping I had been robbed, cleaned out completely. Lost 3 suits, my soldier outfit, Russian leather coat, splendid Colt revolver, loaned by a friend, and a lot of Soviet and American money (more than half of what we had) and worst of all the little gold watch you gave me as a gift, the duplicate of your own, and of course my Inger solt too. In fact everything that could be carried off. Other members of our party did not suffer, except a young man who lost an overcoat and a coat. We went to bed very late that night, all very tired - no one heard the thief who climbed in through an open window evidently. Well, he needed it badly, I guess, he took a big chance. To the brave, the spoils! But the watch I miss, and the money is a great loss. But my winter overcoat saved itself by having remained in Petrograd. Thanks for that much.

Just recd from Nuorteva the missing letters. Dear girl, I am sorry my letter to you made you feel so bad. Cheer up, dear, the world is very small, judging by the unexpected meetings I have had with various persons almost every day. We are sure to meet again. I am sure it can be safely left in your hands and to your judgment and love. Don't worry, dear heart, I am entirely at rest on that score.

It was indeed fitting for you to go to press with the Jewish book on the 18th. You are a dear thoughtful girl. No wonder I love you so deeply. Now behave, see?

Shatof is in Vladivostock as railroad manager. Just heard that Semenoff and his army were beaten to a frazzle in Siberia.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1920] Oct. 23 [- 24] Moscow [to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / [Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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3

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Semenoff escaped in an airship and left his army in the lurch. He is done for. Tobinson of Chicago is Government head in the far East, the other side of Lake Baikal, the Buffer State. Winter is beginning here, already frost. Suffering will be extreme, if the blockade is not lifted soon. Lack of clothing and transportation facilities. This letter, I fear, is very disconnected, written as it is in snatches, between telephone calls, visits, meals. Very busy. Want to add that I found the Ukraine the sufferer of unspeakable pogroms by Petlura, Denikin the Poles and bands, but Denikin surpassed them all in fiendishness and number of victims. Visited Fastov, among similar places, once a busy prosperous city, now practically a ruin. Two thirds of the Jewish population murdered, some in the most horrible manner, killed by inches, eyes and tongues cut out before they were finally slain. The sights you can imagine, or rather they can not be imagined in all their beastliness and depravity. Not a single Jewish girl or woman in Fastov today that was not outraged, some numerous times. Met a girl of 16 in the Kiev hospital, spoke with her, the whole family, father mother, brothers killed before her eyes and she outraged by 14 men. These are not isolated cases. The Poles too were not much better. Except in Kiev, they staged numerous pogroms.

Dear heart, I hope my former letter did not hurt you. It was only loneliness and misery that spoke. My heart is full of you and my deepest love is yours till the end. Tell Bob I have considered his words thoroughly. Maybe in Petr I will have a chance to write him. But one can't discuss by mail, not with any satisfaction. Do not worry about me, I am OK. Love always,

S.

Kiss Pauline and Stella for me, and tell St. to give an extra kiss to Teddy and Ian, and Mo, Minnie, Saxie, Alec C. and all the bunch. I think of you often and often.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1920] Oct. 24, Moscow [to] Stella [Ballantine] and [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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[enclosure]

Moscow, Oct. 24

Dearest, dearest Girls, Stella & Fizzie;

After months of longing and waiting for news from you, we had a real feast. You can not imagine our joy when on reaching Moscow after three and a half months we found waiting for us a number of letters from you both. Some of the mail came through the Russian woman, friend of Rose, who brought a pair of shoes and some other things. These letters Ethel gave us when we arrived two days ago. Several letters from you and F., a letter from Kitty, Sept. 21, one from Leon Malmé, June 29th, and one from Carl, Aug. 22 — ten letters after so many months of anxious waiting. It was indeed a gorgeous feast, and joyous of joys there is mail waiting for us in Petro. At last the blockade on our mail seems to be lifted, and we may be able to keep in touch. I am so glad, so very glad.

How I wish I could take off several days to answer every letter in full. But it is not possible to do so now. We must leave for Petrograd tomorrow. But more than that I am too distressed over Jack Reed's death (the funeral takes place tomorrow) to have the necessary peace of mind to write at length. I will do that just as soon as I am settled in Petrograd.

tonight I want first of all to take up the story of that idiot Clayton (this is the story which appeared first in the Chicago Tribune and occasioned such crass editorials all over the country last June) : I saw a copy for the first time the day we reached town. I can well imagine how it must have upset you all, yet I am a little surprised knowing from experience how such stories are concocted. The enclosed statement, which goes to the American press (this appears in the Dec. number of the Liberator) . . . As soon as I am settled I will write you all about the rest of the statement, the flag part, etc. The whole matter has a very innocent history, really a joke played on you Fizzie (the little flag was over your photo and not Stella's) Only an emptyheaded newspaper boy, too stupid to grasp Russia's struggle, too poor in material could make a story out of the flag episode. "Makes no apology for the flag" Preposterous, with reaction gone completely mad in America, the flag more than ever the symbol of outrage, graft corruption and robbery. I have known too long what is hidden beneath the flag to change my mind on that score. I might just tell you how the flag came to be on your photo. I was often asked who the hands some lady on my dresser was. I found a little flag in a dictionary that was given me, and I stuck it over the photo to indicate you were an American and not a Hottentot. We had such fun with the Americans who came to our rooms over it. But enough of the silly matter.

Of course, you know about Jack's death. We learned of it on our arrival. It was a terrible shock. Poor Louise, she is dreadfully broken up. I think our arrival has helped her a little. It is really for her sake that we are staying over for the funeral which will be trying for her you can imagine. She looks like a wraith, but her sorrow has made her very beautiful. I wish I had been here to take care of Jack. I might have helped to save his life, perhaps, who knows? No one outside Russia's own sons

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and daughters so truly laid down his life for the revolution. He literally worked himself to death. I feel his loss deeply. Dearest girls, I must close it is very late, 3 A.M. and we must be up early. I will write again soon about our trip, our work, our impressions. Write Kitty and Maimed and Carl that we were so glad to hear from them, and will write them soon. Love to our dear sweet Max and his family. Love to all, Ian especially. I hold you very close.

Emma

P.S. There was a later letter dated Oct. 30th, ^{Petrograd} from Sasha, describing their trip through the Ukraine, and its results, also the marvelous material they gathered. Henry Alsberg of the Nation accompanied them. This will appear in the Jany Liberator. There was a p.s. from E. promising a long letter, merely saying that she was dead tired, having unpacked for 4 days a full freight car of stuff, and sending love to every body.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1920 Nov., Petrograd? to unknown recipient] / Emma [Goldman] and Alex[ander Berkman].— 2 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.

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*Letter from Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman
while in Russia — before they left Soviet Russia.*

1920?

Dear Comrades:

As You know from our previous letters, that we were only in the Ukraine; Caucasians we could not reach on account of the military operations, which were going on there.

The Commissariat of the Museum favorably approved our journey and they have immediately suggested to us another one. To this we consented.

First of all we have decided to undertake a short journey to the North regions, in order to investigate the historic material, which have remained after the invaders had evacuated, and also, which have remained of the Chaikovsky regime. We leave directly now for Archangelsk; and possible that we will visit the Murmansk shore region. The climate is very cold there, but our hearts are warm. We expect to be back in Petrograd in time to celebrate the New Year.

In the middle of January or about the end of January we hope to be ready to start for the Crimea and Caucasians, unless, something may happen which will detain us.

You relate to a story, which was published by a Mrs. Snouder (an English socialist). I do not ^{know} what it is about, but Mrs. Snouder is a mere, ordinary bourgeois woman without great capabilities to discern the great significance of the Russian Revolution. None of us gave her an interview.

I care very little what the press says of us. I know too well what a lying element the news-paper people are. But as the press does not cease to relate that Emma and myself are longing for America, so please declare in my name that we have not the least desire to return to America.

A few words concerning Machno. He never fought on Wrangel's side. He has always declared, that he is opposed to every State. Two months ago he negotiated with the Soviet Government, and helped to drive out Wrangel. The whole of the Crimea is now cleared off from Wrangel's army. And thanks to the combined forces of Machno's and the Soviet army Crimea is now free.

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The legend that Machno fights on the side of Wrangel is most likely has been born in a French news-paper, and it was spread from there. Machno is an Anarchist.

They all consider him as an intelligent person; he is extraordinary brave and courageous. And he is in general a military genius.

The Russian Revolution is such an enormous event, and is of such a great significance, that by the present time none is able to estimate it properly. Regarding those, who are coming from Europe or America for a week or a month, and return to write or lecture about Russia, their opinions being favorable ~~xxxxxxxx~~ or unfavorable, are practically worthless. What for instance can Wells or Russel know of the true conditions here? Neither of them are acquainted with the language, the psychology and the actual life of the people. They had to rely on that, what some particular "teller", who was mostly pro or con.

The Russian Revolution is a fact, not a theory. And, as it usually happens on such occasions, the facts are very often contrary to the theories. I am not of those, who are always determined to prove facts according to theories. Life is a fact, which is too great to be framed into any sort of a theory. The new generation must not be bound by whatsoever theories or traditions. If the Russian Revolution is not able to give us any new life-lessons, then it is surely not the fault of the Revolution.

Your comrades :

Emma and Alex

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 [Nov.?] Petrograd [to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 1 p.; 33 x 20 cm.

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12616

Petrograd

1 6

Dearest, dearest Vitale. I am terribly sorry that I find myself unable to write you a letter all your own. I should have done so the moment I got yours of August 20th while the spirit was still aflame. But having gotten on writing I found it impossible to write at all. You will not think my love for you or the need of you has lessened, will

you dear hearts? The need was never greater, my love never deeper.

S has written you at length and my letter to Stella will add what he has failed to say, so you will know all about us we can tell you by mail. Some day we maybe close, close together where we can have an heart to heart talk. By that time we may have solved much that seems unsolvable to day, we maybe more serene in mind and soul. Meanwhile I can only ask you to be patient and not to believe foolish news paper stories. Dearest, you ask if I can not help you with S, strengthen his faith in you. Indeed, indeed I have and am doing that all the time. It is not really that the boy has no faith but you know how set he is in what he considers devotion or love. No other interpretation will do for our stubborn young man. However, his loneliness can't do so much to his "lack of faith" as to the first months in this strange but fascinating land. The extremes between the one we left behind and the one we came to was enough to try the strongest spirits, it still is. Added to this is the poor health of S, he was very wretched for months. Altogether he was thrown out of poise and deeply unhappy. I know you are one who understands and does not blame. I think he is in much better spirit though no nearer to peace of mind than months ago. But at least he does not fret so much about your failure to carry out your plans. I am sure you moved the very heavens and that you will not give up until you succeed. I am looking forward to that day as the Jews look forward to the Messiah.

I am so glad you had the trip to Bermuda. It must have been lovely. For years I too longed to make that trip, but like everything else I ever longed for myself it did not come to pass. You certainly must have slaved to get the Russian edition of S book out and the new English edition. No one can possibly appreciate your task as well as I. I have known the struggle and have been enlaved by it for years. S has written that Grossman might be admitted to get out a German translation. I think he will add a few words to take that back. For myself I am utterly opposed to it. S can not make the translation. Translations at best never do justice to the original and S's would make the book ridiculous. I really don't see the need of a German edition now. The cares for books anywhere in the world outside of those dealing with the Russian revolution and the bloody war that is being waged against its life? Some day new interest in ~~these~~ things of life must come to the fore. It will then be time enough to bring out S work in German. Meanwhile if a translation is to be made it ought to be done by Max, he is the only one who will do the book justice not only because he knows both languages but because he knows S and understands his spirit. Speak to M about it and make some arrangement. Since he can do very little just now he may just want to do the translation.

Tell M I have not forgotten him, not by a long shot. But I can not write. Tell Stella to let him read my letters. Some day we may meet. I will then make up for lost time. I will kidnap him all to myself and will talk to him day and night for two weeks. He better get together some strength now he will need it by the time I get through with him. Meanwhile give him my love. Tell him I never go back on my sweet hearts and counsels even if they go back on me. Give my love to Polya. Tell her of all our American boys he has remained the truest. M E influence. So S has accepted a new God. He has my blessings. I think he will have to get them one more than one occasion, he changes his Gods so often. But whatever his changes I know they are sincere even if they are not always thoroughly digested. The same holds good in the case of G and Ellen although it is more understandable in their case. Give the three my love. Dearest little Benie C I think of him so often, I could stand a bit of his wonderful cheer. My love to him and the family. I wonder if will be in N Y Christmas. Let him bring a quiet glass to us. Would love to join him. Dearest I hold you close affectionately.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Nov. 3, Petrograd [to] Stell[a Ballantine] and [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald], New York / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

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Petrograd Nov, 3rd 1920

My dearest, dearest Stell and Fitz,

Since our return from our trip two weeks ago we have written you twice, once from Moscow and the other day from here. The Moscow letters maybe delivered by a friend the other will be mailed from somewhere abroad. To night we have another chance to send a letter and while I can not say that I am in the right state of mind to write, still I do not wish to lose the opportunity to send you word when there is a chance. I am inclosing copy of letter I wrote in both our names a few days ago. It saves me repetition of our trip which I described so well. I only wish to add that of all our experiences the result of the terrible pogroms most impressed itself upon my mind. There are no words to picture the suffering, horrors and outrage to which the Jews have been subjected by the various pogrom beasts. When I was in America I did not believe in the Jewish question removed from the whole social question. But since we visited some of the pogrom regions I have come to see that there is a Jewish question, especially on the Ukraina. I found every Ukrainian saturated with antisemitic feelings and if under Soviet regim it does not assert itself as it does under the Poles, it is only because the Soviet Government rigidly holds in check Jew hating and baiting at least in any organized form. But with every change of authority on the Ukraina and there have been 17 changes already, the unfortunate Jews are the first to pay a bloody toll. Entire towns are wiped out, the male population brutally murdered or crippled for life. The women, young and old outraged and mutilated. The most dreadful conditions are those of the children, they are half crazed with the recollections of the scenes they were made to witness during the pogroms. The head physician of the Jewish hospital in Kiev, it is now called the Soviet hospital, told us that the children to this day suffer from terrible hallucinations and wake at night with dreadful shrieks. It is almost certain that the entire Jewish race will be wiped out should many more changes take place on the Ukraina. If for no other reason this alone ought to induce the Jews of America to demand recognition of Soviet Russia. But the capitalist Jews of America are like other capitalists, too greedy are much more concerned in their class interests than in the unfortunate members of their race who are being murdered by the enemies of the Russian Revolution. Our traveling companion from the Nation may have reached America by this time. He gathered much material on the horrors of the pogroms, he will no doubt make use of it. If either one of you will see him say I sent the photographs of the Zitomer horrors with some other material on to him to Moscow but he had already gone. Remember us both to him most kindly.

In our letters from Moscow we inclosed copy of the radio which I sent to the World, Call and other papers in reply to Claytons story. The radio was sent from the foreign office of course. I also wrote you and F how the flag buncum originated. I forgot to say that the flag was a little tiny ~~parakeet~~ button hole flag which I discovered in a dictionary given to me by a Russian friend and stuck on F's picture for a lark, ~~at~~ stop the questions about F's nativity. It was a very innocent matter I assure you. Well, I can imagine how a stupid news papre boy would make a yellow story out of the matter. But I am surprised and grieved that you girls would believe it even for a moment. There is a phrase in one of your letters Stella darling which hurt very much. You say, "Clayton couldn't have invented the story". In other words you actually believed what he wrote. It is amazing how the press does poison every one, even those of who know that American newspapers more than any others thrive on lies.

That I long for America is quite true, but let no one think it is the America of back reaction, the America which is robbing and exploiting the people, the America which has sacrificed her ablest youth on the field of France not for a principle which it hypocritically proclaimed but for profits and for the strengthening of her Imperialist power. The America I long for is the one of my beloved people, of my numerous devoted friends of my brave comrades, the America where I have toiled and struggled for 30 years to awaken a real understanding for liberty among the masses and a deep love for what is worth while and true in the country. I do indeed long for that America. If what Nietzsche said in regard to the criterion of love be true, namely that it is the power of endurance than I ought to love America passionately, for in what other land could one be made to endure so much for ones ideal than I have endured under Uncle Sam? So it is not surprising that I should long for

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America, for you my darlings, for Ian and all my other beloved ones. In vain did the scribes on the Times, the Tribune and the other sheets rejoice. I have not and shall not change my attitude towards capitalist America. I shall fight it always. As to American government, both stupid and brutal, nothing can change my hatred for it. Now, dearest girls make this known and further more, make it also known that I have not and do not intend to give interviews. If ever the time comes when I can write my version of the Russian Revolution it will be over my own signature and not otherwise. But that time has not yet come, not until the combined wolves at the throat of Russia now have released her, not until she can breathe freely, stretch her limbs and strike out for her new life have I anything to say, remember that and never again believe what is being said in my name.

It is unfortunate that I will again have to cut my letter short, the comrade who takes this to Reval leaves in an hour. I will have to send the third installment in a few days. We are still uncertain what our next work will be. We may go on another expedition for the Buses, or we may take up some other work. We will know more definitely in a few weeks. I doubt however whether I will go into the board of health, as that would tie me to Petrograd. I still feel that I know Russia too little for any profound estimate of what is going on in the country. True we have been on the Ukraine, but that is a country all its own. We now want to study great Russia. We can do that only if we take up the kind of work which necessitates travel. There is much needed work of that sort, we may fall into it. Will keep you posted of course.

Dearest own Stella you will have to be patient a little while I will answer all your letters in a few days, got two through Carl two days ago, April 22 and 30th, also those of May 26th, July 8th and 30 and also one June 26th. I will take up each one separately in detail. By the way, you say you received one letter from me via Paris, it so Clayton mailed that letter, so you see, he did not only deliver mine to Ben. I confess I am surprised that he should have proven a crook, all those who met him liked the boy. But there is not talk of confidence dearer Fitz. Surely you should know that I have not forgotten what American news paper men are like.

I understand that Stiglitz's wife and the girl who left America with Fedotova have reached Moscow and that they have some thing for me. I suppose the dresses, well I will get them when we go to Moscow, anyway it is too cold to wear them now, but they will come handy in the summer. If you have another chance to send something, send me one or two chiffon veils, in colors, some woolen stockings and cigarette for S. he cannot get used to the Russian kind.

I may send an article to N.Y. direct, about the pogroms I feel them terribly. Meanwhile send my greetings. I don't see how he expects me to pay me direct. But it is alright I don't want you to run after him just now. Good by dearest own darling. Love to my own Ian boy. I no greater love had my child than to eat something he dislikes for his Tantes sake. Hug him for me. Love to Teddy, to Mo. Save the family in R. and all our friends in N.Y. Love to Kate O'hare, glad she is doing such good work, love to brave little Molly. And you my dearest F., I will write you a letter all your own soon. I think of you all the time with much much love. By the way dearie we have asked you repeatedly about Manya Simionoffs boy Stephen, why don't you answer? The poor woman is nearly crazy with grief and longing. Even if anything has happened to the boy we want to know. Anything is better than uncertainty, please find out about him. Kindest regards to my old faithful Counsellor, he too will get a letter all his own soon. Love to Polya, to Mary O'Brien S. and I have been blessing her all the time for her good advice. Love to Bob! I was amused over his discovery of Diezgen, let him have a talk with Philo about his new discovery. I hold you both very very close.

Lovingly

Dearest Love to Stella
and her family

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Petrograd, Nov. 4, 1920

My dearest, This is the third installment of the letter we began several days ago. I don't know when this will get out of R. But I want to have it ready as there may be an opportunity any moment. In case the letters already sent to you and F. fail to reach you I will again enumerate the dates of your and F's mail to me. April 13 and 20, May 21 and June 26. Then July 8 and 20. Besides that I had F's letter of July 29. A letter from dear old Leon 1. June 27. Three letters from Carl May 21, July 29 and August 2. Sasha had from F one August 2, another one to both of us Aug 16, a previous one to Ethel May 8. And finally a letter from Kitty Sept 21. A sensation on receipt of all the letters after so many months of silence was something like the one I had in Jefferson Prison when a badge of letters held up for two weeks were handed me, overwhelming joy and sadness. Joy because I was able at last to learn how you my darling and my other beloved ones were faring and calmer because I knew that I could not say all I want to say in reply to your dear letters. I can only hope you will read through the lines. You speak of a second letter sent through our Finnish friend, none came that way. It is useless to send anything through there. Mannherheim is deposed, but as an evil spirit goes marching on. It is much better through the friend in Copenhagen. One of your letters came from her. I will therefore send mine to you the same way. Carl's address also seems all right. I sent one to him yesterday.

Well, dearest, there is so much in your letters I should love to go into, but it cannot be done. Even if I could write freely you would not understand. No one outside of Russia understands. Not even the friends who come to Russia. Most of them remain only a little while. They are hampered because of their ignorance of the language, they rarely get further than Petrograd and Moscow. Why, even we, who have been in the country almost 10 months, know the language, have traveled on the Ukm in for four months, even we do not understand many things, how should you or the others. And so much must remain unaid. Time is the clarifier of all doubts and misunderstandings. Time will also throw light on the greatest event of our time -- great and tragic.

You refer in one of your letters to the capacity of the Russian people for pain. Heaven knows they have that. No other people in the world could endure so much pain, such terrible suffering, such awful privation as the people of this country. And there is no let-up. Avarice and bestiality as symbolized in International Imperialism continue in their bloodshedding, devastating march upon Russia, press in upon her determined to crush her utterly. But it would become of her if not for her capacity for pain and endurance. Thus, the Russian people will yet triumph, the fires which they have lighted three years ago will yet inflame the world. I have unshaking faith in the Russian people whatever faith I may have lost in other directions.

In another part in one of your letters you speak of the kindness and solidarity I must be meeting. Dearest, dearest, a people bled white through three years of war, starved grey through three years of revolution must lose both kindness and solidarity. No one who has not witnessed the dreadful sight of slow starvation can possibly grasp why it is that a people so kind and hospitable as the Russians should have lost both in so short a time. Yet more terrible than physical hunger is the hunger of the spirit which longs to help and relieve and is yet unable to take root. That too, neither you or F seem to understand. I do not blame you my dearest. I wouldn't have understood were I in America now. You see my darling soap and hot water are very scarce in Russia,

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2

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not

I fear I am/aware of the black reaction in America, I see some papers occasionally. Besides, I am not surprised, I saw the maddy tide coming when the war hysteria began. America is merely repeating the brutal circle of Czarist Russia. As to prisons, I fear the whole world is pretty much a prison now. Those brave spirits who are in American prisons should take heart, just as easily as the martyrs of Russia blazed the trail of the Revolution, just as they are blazing the trail for the Great American event! After all it is the struggle for rather than the attainment of liberty which is really the only worth while thing in life. It is difficult to say who is most to be envied.

F. writes that we must be meeting many interesting people. We do. But to write about them is not so easy. Take old Peter K for instance. It is impossible to write about his reaction to the situation here, and one does not like to record mere physical facts. But since you ask about him I can say that we visited him twice, once last winter together with January and Jerry, the latter ought to have told you about the visit. It was not a very successful rendezvous; we only had a few hours and I had a dreadful cold, then we could not talk as we would have liked to, because of the presence of two newspaper men. Peter naturally will not be interviewed. The old man was quite frail then. But on our second visit in July he had picked up. He looked so buoyant. The K's have a little cottage in Dimitriev, 60 verst from Moscow. The cottage stands in a garden which was in full bloom in July. You remember of course that Poply is quite a gardener which is most fortunate, as her efforts have supplied them with vegetables for the winter. Then they have sugar and fats. So they manage as best they know how. Peter is completing his work on ethics which he has been writing for many years. He feels that he can do nothing else now. Sasha was very ill this summer with typhus, but she was in raving when I called to see her in Moscow. Her people were with her during her illness. The three of them asked about you and Jan as well as Teddy. Peter asked to be remembered to all the comrades and sent special love to M. Perhaps I should have written all that before but it seemed so trifling in comparison to what one would like to write about F. It is the same about most people we have met; that is why I have not referred to them before. I thought you too would understand.

I have been trying to get hold of the book containing F.R.'s articles, but have not succeeded as yet. I did, however, read Eastman's and F.R.'s criticism. F.R. had luncheon with us when he was in P. S. saw him several times in Moscow where he had gone to assist with the translations for the English labor delegates. He impressed me as very much in earnest, very anxious to be fair and just. I fear R, like many people, cannot see that revolutions are not made with kid gloves, they are grim and bitter things at best. As the result of 8 years' war with the wrath of a people to the bursting point the Russian Revolution was singularly humane. As to the aftermath. What will you? Russia driven at bay with all the so-called Christian nations trying to sap her life's blood must make a stroke out.

As I may not get to write the article I wanted to send M. I want you to give him my greetings. I should be very glad if he will get out a new edition of the drama book. Tell him Lunacharsky has taken it

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for a Russian edition. He may also bring out Floyd Dell's "Where you
Ever a Child?" I had a copy with me which I gave immediately, you may
tell that to Nell. Sasha's book has been taken over by the state at the
head of the government printing. We haven't yet seen the new since our
return, so we don't know how far the work has progressed.

Laurent, of the things sent I received as far the two pairs
of shoes, I wish rubbers had been sent with them, as they are much too
big for the one pair I took with me; 3 pairs of stockings which Ethel
gave me, a pair of silk gloves, a pair of shields and hose supporters,
three thermometers, one broken, a box of buttons, needles, hooks and
safety pins and some medicines. If you have another chance to send
something, we need tooth paste, face and laundry soap, soapine, at
least one bar of coconut and borax, shoe laces, some chocolates and
cocoa, our friend, George Kent, and some cans of milk, cigarettes for
A/S., woolen stockings for me, and two chiffon veils - purple and brown
or blue. The winds are very biting in Russia. I also need woolen
gloves. I have one lovely pair. Some black and white tape, black and
white elastic bands, two of the brassieres I wear, several large aprons in
colors. The dresses I have not yet received. If the woman brought
them, I will get them when we return to U.

Laurent, there is so much more I want to say, but will have
to leave that when I write to F. I send deepest love to darling Ian.
He looks lovely on the snap shots. Love to Teddy, Mo, Kate, the B.
folk. My dear old lady, she has more faith in our reunion than I. Love
to our own Maxie and his family, to Ellen and Gertrude, to little
Ella A and Kate O'Hare, my deepest love to Nellie. To Leonard A and
family, in fact to all our friends. Special love to Minnie and Edwin.
I hold you very close to me my own. Lovingly. No letter came through
Jennie R

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Emma Goldman
Petrograd, Nov. 4, 1920

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Dearest, there is so much more I want to say, but will have to leave that when I write to P. I send deepest love to darling Ian. He looks lovely on the snap shots. Love to Teddy, Mo, Saxe, the R. folk. My dear old lady, she has more faith in our reunion than I. Love to our own Marie and his family, to Ellen K and Gertrude, to little Ella A and Kate. My deepest love to Nellie. To Leonard A and family, in that to all our friends. Special love to Annie and Irving. I hold you very close to me my own. Lovingly. No letter came through Jennie R

Dear Miss Wald
I send on this copy which
will interest you - I have been
rather overwhelmed with matters
lately, but I will call your Secy
soon and when I may come down
to dinner, I sent dear Peter K a
box of food - Thanks for this
letter
Sincerely Stella Ballantine

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Nov. 4, Petrograd [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman].

- 2 p.; 27 x 17 cm.

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Petrograd. Nov 4th. 1920

My dearest. This is the third installment of the letter we began several days ago. I don't know when this will get out of R. but I want to have it ready as there maybe an opportunity any moment. In case the letters already sent to you and F fail to reach you I will again immerse the dates of your and F's mail to us. April 12th and 30th. May 1st and June 26th. Then July 8th and 30th. Besides that I had F's letter of July 29th. a letter from dear old Leon M June 27th. three letters from Carl May 21st, July 29th and August 22nd. Sasha had from F one August 2nd. another one to both of us Aug 26th. a previous one to Ethel May 26th. And finally, a letter from Kitty B Sept 21st. My sensation on receipt of all the letters after so many months of silence was something like the one I had in Jefferson Prison when a badge of letters held up for two weeks were handed me, overwhelming joy and sadness. Joy because I was able at last to learn how you my darling and my other beloved ones were faring and sadness because I knew that I could not say all I want to say in reply to your dear letters. I can only hope you will read through the lines. You speak of a second letter sent through our Finnish friend, none came that way. It is useless to send anything through there. Mannerheim is disposed but his evil spirit goes marching on. It is much better through the friend in Copenhagen, one of your letters came from her. I will therefore send mine to you the same way. Carl's address also seems alright. I sent one to him yesterday.

Well dearest, there is so much in your letters I should love to go into but it can not be done. Even if I could write freely you wouldn't understand. No one outside of Russia understands. Not even the friends who come to Russia. Most of them remain only a little while they are hampered because of their ignorance of the language, they rarely get further than Petrograd and Moscow. Why, even we, who have been in the country almost 10 months, know the language, have traveled on the Ukraina for four months, even we do not understand many things, how should you or the others. And so much must remain unsaid. Time is the clarifier of all doubts and misunderstandings. Time will also throw light on the greatest even of our time - great and tragic.

You refer in one of your letters to the capacity of the Russian people for pain. Heaven knows they have that. No other people in the world could endure so much pain, such terrible suffering, such awful privation as the people of this country. And there is no let up. Avarice and bestiality as symbolized in International Imperialism continue in their bloodshedding devastating march upon Russia, press in upon upon her determined to crush her utterly. What would become of her if not for her capacity for pain and endurance. Thus, the Russian people will yet triumph, the fires which they have lighted three years ago will yet inflame the world. I have undying faith in the Russian people whatever faith I may have lost in other directions. . . .

In another part in one of your letters you speak of the "kindest and solidarity" I must be meeting. Dearest, dearest, a people blind white through three years of war, starved grey through three years of revolution must lose both kindness and solidarity. No one who has not witness the dreadful sight of slow starvation can possibly grasp it is that a people so kind and hospitable as the Russians should have lost both in so short a time. Yet more terrible than physical hunger is the hunger of the spirit which longs to help and relieve and is yet unable to take root. That too, neither you or F seem to understand. I do not blame you my dearest. I wouldn't have understood were I in America now. You see my darling soap and hot water are very scarce in Russia, hence it is difficult to change one's linen often. Still, if I could change myself at least as often I might find my place much easier, but I'd have to be reborn then.

Dearest I am not unaware of the black reaction in America, I see some papers occasionally. Besides, I am not surprised, I saw the muddy tide coming when the war hysteria began. America is merely repeating the brutal circle of Zzarist Russia. As to prisons, I fear the whole world is pretty much a prison now. Those brave spirits who are in American prisons should take heart, just as surely as the martyrs of Russia blazed the trail of the Revolution, just so they are blazing the trail for the Great American event. After all it is the struggle for rather than the attainment of liberty which is really the only worth while thing in life. It is difficult to say who is most to be envied.

F writes that we must be meeting many interesting people, we do. But to write about them is not so easy. Take old Peter K for instance.

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860515139

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[2]

instance, it is impossible to write about his reaction to the situation here and one does not like to record mere physical facts. But since you ask about him I can say that we visited him twice, once last winter together with Lansbury and Berry, the latter ought to have told you about the visit. It was not a very successful rendezvous, we only had a few hours and I had a dreadful cold, then we could not talk as we would have liked to because of the presence of two newspaper men. Peter naturally will not be interviewed. The old man was quite frail then. But on our second visit in July he had picked up. He looked so boyant. The K's have a little cottage in Dimitriev, 60 verst from Moscow. The cottage stands in a garden which was in full bloom in July. You remember of course that Sophy K is quite a gardener which is most fortunate as her efforts has supplied them with eatables for the winter. Then they have a cow, besides that the comrades from the south often send the K's flour sugar and fats. So they manage as best they know how. Peter is completing his work on ethics which he has been writing for many years. He feels that he can do nothing else now. Sasha K was very ill this summer with typhus, but she was improving when I called to see her in Moscow. Her people were with her during her illness. The three of them asked about you and Ian as well as Teddy. Peter asked to be remembered to all the comrades and send special love to H K. Perhaps I should have written all that before but it seemed as ~~plenty~~ in comparison to what one would like to write about P K. It is the same about most people we have met that is why I have not referred to them before. I thought you too would understand.

I have been trying to get hold of the Nation containing B R's articles. But have not succeeded so far. I did however read Eastmans and P D's criticisms. B R had luncheon with us when he was in P. S saw him several times in Moscow where S had gone to assist with some translations for the English labour delegates. R impressed me as very much in earnest, very anxious to be fair and just. I fear R like many people do not know that revolutions are not made with kid gloves, they are grim and bitter things at best. As the result of 5 years war with the wrath of a people to the bursting point the Russian revolution was singularly humane. As to the aftermath. What will your Russia drive at bay with all the so called Christian nations trying to sap her life's blood must needs strike out.

As I may not get to write the article I wanted to send PH I want you to give him my greetings. I should be very glad if he will get out a new edition of the drama book. Tell him Lunacharsky has taken it for a Russian edition. He may also bring out Floyd Dell's What's ever a Child? I had a copy with me which I gave Lunacharsky, you may tell that to Dell. Sasha's book has been taken over by the man at the head of the government printing, we haven't yet seen the man since our return so we don't know how far the work has progressed.

Dearest of the things sent I received so far the two pairs of shoes, I wish rubbers had been sent with them as they are much too big for the one pair I took with me. 3 pairs of stockings which Ethel & I gave me, a pair of silk gloves, a pair of shields and hose supporters three thermometers, one broken, a box of buttons, needles hooks and safety pins and some medicines. If you have another chance to send something we need tooth paste, face and laundry soap, soapine, at least one bar of securina and bon ami, shoe laces, some chocolates and cocoa, our friend George Wash, and some cans of milk, cigarettes for K H, woolen stockings for me and two chiffon veils, purple and brown or blue. The winds are very ~~disagreeable~~ in Russia. I also need woolen gloves I have one lonely pair. Some black and white tape, black and white claps, two of the brass pins I wear several large aprons in colors. The dresses I have not yet received if the women brought them, I will get them when we return to N. ~~Don't forget to send the first and second~~ I want to say that Stella looks lovely on the snap shots. Love to Teddy, Mo, Baxe, the R folk. My dear old lady, she has more faith in our reunion than I. Love to our own Marie and his family to Ellen K and Gertrude, to little Ella A and Kate O here, my deepest love to Mollie, to Leonard A and family in fact to all our friends. Special love to Minnie and Edvina. I hold you very close to me my own. Lovingly. No letter came through Jennie R

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Nov. 4, Petrograd [to] Louise [Bryant, Moscow] / Emma [Goldman]. —
1 p.; 29 × 22 cm.

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Petrograd. Nov. 4th, 1920

My dear, dear Louise.

I feel very guilty that I did not write you on my arrival in Peter. But you know yourself how slow things move in this strange land. We have been on the run every minute since we reached here delivering our material to the Musee. We had hoped to be ~~there~~ by this time. We are not. We still have our report to make and other odds and ends to do. However, I feel I must write to day. Hope to send this to you through some courier of the International.

Dearest girl, I can not tell you how much you are on my mind. Your pale and worn face made more beautiful through grief is ever before me. The thought of your loneliness, especially on that evening when I left you in the room, fairly haunts me. I hope fervently that you have regained your brave spirit, that you are busy at work which might help you a little to forget. Don't think I imagine you can forget your great loss. I know that is utterly impossible. Even I who was but a friend of Jacks can not forget him. How much less will you to whom he meant life itself? But I have faith in your capacity for endurance and your devotion to the work Jack has left for you to do. For the sake of that you must pull yourself together, above all, you must take some care of your health. I know how difficult that is in Russia now. Nevertheless I do ask you to be a little careful. I dread to think that you might have a breakdown and no one near to take care of you, to understand your needs, at least.

About ourselves everything is very uncertain. We are not likely to know for several weeks whether the Musee will send another expedition and if we are to be included in it. But whether we do or not we are sure to come to Moscow for a while at the end of this month. I am looking forward to seeing you again my dear I want very much to spend a little while with you. I am sure S. feels the same.

On our arrival here we found more mail from home but all old letters, dated April and May. It is very hard to wait so long for news from ones loved ones but I am grateful to the stars to have word at all. The most painful thing is not to be able to reply what is on ones heart and mind. I wrote several letters but they left a terrible void in my soul. All I had in life, work friends, loved ones are so far away I wish I could take root here or find some sphere where I could once more give out of myself what I so long to give for poor tortured Russia. But then, I don't want to burden you with my soul struggle. Much rather do I want to say something encouraging to you my dear! Words are so inadequate aren't they?

I promised to write you something that you might use in your article you spoke to me about but I can't fulfill my promise. I feel too much at sea, too disturbed mentally and too restless ~~my~~ psychologically to jot down anything comprehensive. Perhaps a little later I may feel more at peace. Dearest girl, won't you write me a line? I am very, very anxious to know how you are. We are stopping at the Hotel Angleterre, now called the International; we are in rooms 118 and 119. Send your letter through Muortevo, couriers from the foreign office go to P, almost daily. Ask him to have the letter delivered to us at the hotel. Much love

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Nov. 28, Petrograd [to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 33 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Petrograd Nov 28th 1920

12615

My darling. I began this letter the 23rd. Did not get further than the date. I started again day before yesterday was disturbed a dozen times. At last I succeeded in finishing it yesterday. Last night when I reread the letter I came to the conclusion it will never reach you, so I am now re-writing it. In my letter of Nov third and fourth which I hope you will receive I said I would write an article for F H and a letter to dear F. I could not do either. It is simply this, unless I write when mail from home arrives, while my spirit is still aflame I can not write at all. The amount one wants to say and the utter impossibility of saying it adequately paralyses me. Dearest, dearest you and F keep on saying we should write about R. if not for publication at least "for ourselves" as F said in her letter of Oct 15th. How naive you both are. You do not seem to realize that one, a self no longer exists in the terrible struggle and turmoil of the world. Besides what can one say in a letter of an event which is holding the world in awe. Believe me dearest I suffer as much as you and F do from our enforced silence but until I have solved the many problems raised by the revolution, until I am quite clear in my own mind what should or should not be I can not write the thing which disturb our minds and souls, things which have brought to us the deepest travail of our lives. Ah, if only with had come here in the days of the revolutionary glory, the Oct days we might now be better qualified to judge. All my life I had hoped to be in the thick of the revolution to die if need be in its birth. But fate willed it otherwise. Perhaps it is conditioned in life that each should play only one part in the revolutionary process. I don't know, I only know that I never longed so much to give out of myself to the revolution and never found myself so utterly unable to give. However, since I can do so little in Russia I want at least to say or do nothing which may even remotely bring it harm. I can well appreciate your surprise at our inability to found our share in Russia's struggle. But the fact remains that so far we could only work for the Musee which is neither the most burning need of the day or the most satisfactory. We do that in order to keep at work.

I have written F at length, I inclose copy also a few lines for F. You will see that we are leaving for Khabarovsk. I am not very keen on the trip but it will close the year and enable us to arrange for a longer trip later on. It is futile to make plans during an earthquake. But as far as one can do it at all we plan to go to Khabarovsk right after the new year. That will bring us back in May, or we may rush matters to be back in time for the syndicalist congress which is to be held in Moscow in April. Perhaps my own darling child will land here in May. I dare not hope too much for such bliss. But we will await her coming. If however nothing comes of that we will again start out, most likely for Siberia. But as stated before no plans are definite just now.

It is well for you to know that we have friends here who are in a position to reach us in case none one of our nearest and dearest should get with in reach of R. One of the most earnest workers is a woman, Ravitch is her name, she represents Chirerin that is the foreign office which has its branch in Petrograd. She is also minister of interior for all affairs of the city and government of P. I am leaving word with her so she should know my own in case of any hitch in getting in letters taken to her would also reach us. She lives at the Astoria room 412, her office is called Odell Upravlenie. But any one who will bring mail need only ask for her name, she is known in the City. Our address at Moscow foreign office continues as before.

I have received some of the things sent, three lovely dresses, one white pottycost and waist, two aprons, two bars of castile soap, four cakes of face soap, several spools of white, black, gray and brown darning wool, needles, safety pins hooks and eyes, two pairs of shoes, pair of gloves, three pairs of

Mues Love & you, dear Stella
from Peter of us. Emma Goldman
Letters of Dec 7 S

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921078

[Letter] 1921 Jan. 29 to Feb. 7, Moscow [to] Stella [Ballantine] and [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Em[ma Goldman]. — 14 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.
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Dearest Stella, dearest Alice. 12617 Moscow. Jan 29. 1921
I am no longer used to writing letters without address
in order of the one I am addressing. Some other
articles in the news - papers have may again
present some mislead sensational story. Nowhere
in the world could such lack of decency - such
vulgarity go unobserved. But I should
except case the sup anyone for liberal. But I should
not in the least object to administering a sound
drinking to such cases as the one you doctored
my letter sent you. I thought my dear friend
Steve R. I did not realize when you received
my letter that you wrote me. Some time
ago that one of my letters to you had been
lost as I addressed to you. I found
the letter dated Oct 18-22, Nov. 3. 16th & 20th
when we received it - a week ago. Among
the things was that I had written. Poor Jack
would have said it was all. So beautiful
because I am sure, he has gone on a trip
of so does not know what is going on in the
story were going on. I am not so can
tempted. But now is one to protect oneself
against such yellow dogs. I declared
you will be a little wiser. I declared
writing you like by the included as new
years have you will see that I had planned
to visit Detroit on my return to Pittsburgh
when we got there we found a lot of com-
lications in the hospital. kept us
the run. Then to a time expected every day
to go to the hospital. we were sure that
well. Well, we did not get going until the
here we found that our dear Doctor is
going to leave in a few days, so I de-

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3
I am about my complaints a piece now
beginning to think that the stuff people
only the notes and justly affected the
situation a situation in
completeness that nothing but the
most careful and the most careful
you possibly do a justice. Can either
you imagine that I would permit
anyone feeling to color my judgment
as to that burning demand. It is
the expression of Ben R. I got in
a few minutes when he was
on us last spring. He impressed
quite. Our meeting lasted 10 min
then saw the couple again. On
that night I left home to go to
the city. Ben R. and I went
to the hotel. The couple called
on the stairs are manufactured
to protect and self a general
type. The murder of the Volkes article
which was the first ever read me in
the presence of the press of my camp
that he was not been spoken to
yet he was utterly helpless. There is
he looked after constantly. Ben R.
the impudence to repeat complaints
my point. You will look down to make
my mind not to do everything
all. As to myself, I really do not care

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4
I have written about me & care much
about the superficial stuff written about
Russia. Here is the greatest distance
name in view of the whole world. Here
a people radically starving and
enduring untold misery. Here is
social cataclysm uprooting all
transmuting all values - smashing
things - tearing asunder all the
old nations, yet some folk
write about it after a few months
or weeks in Russia. Well, I spend
time. Mr. Dickman a few weeks. An
English. But then what is the English
man? Does Mr. Dickman "English
kindness" mean he has to be an
Englishman? I have seen
of the English & Egyptians have
seen more that they had to be
this English snail of a class that
just led so much kindness, Egyptian
kind blood. No Stella darling I can
agree with you that the "English" is
interesting as a human. We write
kindly but, silly & superficial. The
Egyptian of Balabanova is a wonderful
thing. The best B is perhaps the
most human, selfless woman in
the is a rare type in socialistic
and revolutionary spirit. Respect

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My dear friends, after a brilliant Re-
ception to her is not symmetrical, an
in great individuality, she is not
a English adventuress. I was free
enough to tell her to the lady, I once
mean picture of a truly great person.
I am sure, I can no more understand
her, she can understand all else —
a new part of R. By the way, I am
in the house where I live. I am
lives. I am a part of the spirit
upheld my faith even though
politically far apart. I have been
because of my deep sincere
unlimited heart, next, her great
helpfulness she brings me
a person can make such
picture of a world is one to see
such simple things as all of us
as today. I am only an
same, understanding, much
I have all a large grasp
is to R. I am just reaching
But even R is not in a position
to do the matter justice. My heart
language is only one man in a
and he is anyone else.
I have not arrived. I have
sent the letter from Moscow
which I have from R. is here.

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He is such a nice chap. I appreciate the article so glad
to see are a few illustrations in American
sense of humor. I did not yet see
of course my paper. I was promised
to see the May issue. It is so full
mistaken. It is so full
I would require several articles to
them. Dear Sir, I forgot that things you
simply see in that in which you
statements. Why are in a way so
to Stephen in which I have often
read what I had become of Lynn. I
from my regard for the article. I
consider the paper very near - but
comes from a very good man - a
little in a very good man - a
but dear old man is actually going to
I shall miss him terribly. He is such a
comfort. He will bring you my love and
my message. He will also give you
delighted to hear from you regarding your
Hes. I do not know if he has any
objection to your visiting us. But I will
see the paper. People hope we start
in a new building. I am sure the
the dog will tell you the rest. In fact
thing. I am very anxious Max should be
present. Don't know, never did I need
in deep under standing more than now

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[illegible]

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12624
 Emma I am much upset and does not
 know writing but I too will send a ma-
 nifesto and demand. You must not be
 with him Doyne decept - we are not for
 my the spiritual health of our lives.
 Deane do not say anything more to
 strangers. He Rose will speak of self
 evidently kept all his things and
 all. When she gave me the wages and
 \$150 to go on my way, not a thing at
 trunk. I was told he was a poor day and
 told her not to go. I had my own. I
 was chained to a table with cigarettes and
 not at all in a. But a gain in
 making all of it. I saw one in
 the room of my mother's. It is not
 the one you saw. It is specially. It is an
 outrage. But I say no more. We can
 do nothing. I am coming. I am
 enough with me. I am new. I am
 dress. I made it. I am not. I am
 do not. I am. I am. I am. I am.
 summer dresses. I need only light up
 mean some more. I am. I am. I am.
 whole dress. I am. I am. I am.
 merchandise all of which you will get
 much cheaper. I need a
 summer, but hardly. If you dear I can
 get in. I am. I am. I am. I am.

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124
I don't make I, I suit the 2nd me
he also need a v. d. but me
pleasant when being there with
me. So I can't not make
any good. Dear Jesus, I fear I am
only failure at goodness. Degree
developing with it. What an
unhappy life will be for him. He
wants to go on a big boat with his
can't tolerate the idea that I may
see him. I don't know how to arrange
it. I don't know even if I can
find some happiness with me. I want
to go. Love and my love and
want to see you. I am better
being of anyone in the world
as I am now. I am sure I am
you never mention them my love
and all my love. Please take me
with you. I am a letter game
I am terribly sorry about make
it. I am sure will be prepared
by inches. I am sure I am
when I can see. I am sure I am
to see. And my own life is
well. I am so glad. Yes life is
of strange things anyone who is
back should be assistant to
make. Life is strange indeed.

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12626

Henry I. Das n^o 10 last heard from Ben
 said he was could send you his m
 is a wreck & will not last long
 not taken away. Between Mary and
 the day they might manage it. What
 day to get my turn next? I want
 any glad you can make use of
 letters for publicity. I got 1/2 the money
 told me to get a better translation. I
 sent a word to you about it in my
 must never happen again. But
 friend will tell you how to get money
 for us, N. S. Dasman. Send me a
 some of the new ones, also reports
 to L. M. Dasman. Anderson has
 the 1st MS. book.

Dearest, I am in a new year
 we landed here what was what ever
 away. And what a terrible struggle
 saying we have more, you must need
 things. We have write often please
 just love for Henry. I am and you
 the day. I don't have to be
 to me. Love to Henry, Anne, and
 & all family. Affectionate greetings to
 dear old California. May all be
 there is a reason in my silence. I
 am in 2nd Streeting with B. L. Dasman
 all our friends. Lovingly and with
 deep love
 Emma

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I was called away from Chicago
to help my father at his law office.
I have been very busy since I got
home. I am glad to hear you are
well. I hope you will soon be
back home. I will write again soon.

Your friend,
John D. Rockefeller

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Jan. 29 to Feb. 7, Moscow [to] Stella [Ballantine] and [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Em[ma Goldman]. — 14 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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the other women whom you
so many things for you. They glad
left most of a lifetime in the
little, gave up, were my summer
dress, shoes, I made a pea coat and
some pattern. Nothing of Gdaghara
except a pair of pulled boots. But
I made good better not send
anything unless you can really de
and on the person. I can wait until
you come. Darling, I can not help re
minding you of me. You should be
used to it by now. I have after 30 ye
of column in the wall of the
American Press. The V. Starg
and may say I did not
then know the man was still in
the women who returned from the
house. But even if I had known
I would never occur to me
to call on him. I do not see
why you would expect such a
way you imagine one changes so
quickly. You know I have never
approached such people as you
that I have taught for years
all my life. Why should I talk to
them now. You say I must have
been desperate. Nonsense. Love

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The blackest despair is no sacrifice
in trading with the enemy and I
represent the enemy & you can never
make peace with me. Now, please
keep this in mind. And I must
not stop till he has said in my
name at least you may say my
not believe it. If I wanted to go
back on myself and no day I
would lose a life much more readily
here than in L.A. as it is, I do not
intend to compromise least
all nor do I intend to let
anyone else do so. I am sorry.
I must be true to the world.
A friend mailed me a copy of
your book. It was very good. I
told him I would send you a copy.
Presently I will mail it. That's all
clear. I hope you are well. I
will write again soon. I hope
the war will end soon. I hope
a very good by. I hope we will
live long. I hope we will
have a great future. I hope
look forward to a new
resurrection.

I did not get away after
all. It is just as well now

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[Letter] 1921 Jan. 29 to Feb. 7, Moscow [to] Stella [Ballantine] and [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Em[ma Goldman]. — 14 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Jan. 29 - Feb. 5, Moscow [and Leningrad to] Stella [Ballantine] and [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / Em[ma Goldman].— 5 p. ; 22 × 16 cm.

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Moscow, Jan 29, 1921.

Darling Stella and Dearest Fittie:-

I dare no longer use endearing terms without indicating the gender of the one I am addressing. Else some vulgar creature of the newspaper trade might again concoct some wretched sensational story.

Nowhere in the world could such lack of decency, such vulgarity go unchallenged. Not that I should ever care to sue anyone for libel. But I should not in the least object to administering a sound thrashing to such ~~ours~~ as the one who doctored my 1st letter sent to Stella through our dead friend Jack R. I did not realize what you were referring to, when you wrote me some time ago that one of my letters to you had been made to appear as if addressed to Jack. I found your four letters, dated Oct. 18, Nov. 3, 16, and 30th, when we again visited Moscow, arriving about a week ago; Among the clippings in your letters was the one of that foul hoax. Poor Jack, he would have had a hearty laugh over it all, and so would Louise. I am sure. She has gone on a long trip, so she does not yet know her rival in me. The story was funny if it were not so contemptible. But how is one to protect oneself against such yellow dogs!

You will be wondering why I delayed writing you both. By the enclosed of New Year's Eve. (enclosed in the original copy per our dear travelling medicine man) you will see that I had planned to write directly after our return to Petrograd (from Archangel). But when we reached Petrograd, we found some very pressing matters to be attended to in connection with our Museum work, which left no time for correspondence. Besides, we expected daily to go to Moscow, where we confidently hoped to find mail from you. However, we did not get away from Petr. till the 20th inst., Here in Moscow we learned that our dear Doctor was preparing to leave within a few days. Therefore I decided to send this through him.

Yesterday I wrote to you four typewritten pages, but they were so full of typographical errors and so unsatisfactory in content that I am now rewriting it all. (Today, as the Irishman would say, my typing is fine, but it ain't mins.--Typist's Note.) Will send copies through various channels. Beside this letter our good Dr. will bring you a personal message. I hope fervently that he will deliver a straight story in spirit as well as in the letter. I have had several talks with him, one tonight. I shall despair if he too will fail to make you realize that it is not lack of physical comforts which harasses my mind and keeps my spirit in a terrible turmoil. Apropos of physical discomfiture, even if I had actually suffered such, I should never complain about it. How could I, with the Russian people freezing and starving for three years? Ah, if it were only physical hardships, how gladly I would endure them, if only I could throw myself into the struggle. If only I could feel bottom under me. It is something much more poignant, more difficult to bear. Perhaps you will understand after our Dear Dr. brought you my message. Aside of that, we have so far not known want. In fact, we have had much more than the average worker. For we came supplied with some American canned foods, and besides we had things sent us from

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Royal and Berlin. Four months we were in the Ukraine, where food is not so scarce as here. When in Per. or Moscow, we are quartered in delegates' houses where one is certainly not starved. Therefore all the stories about my complaints are utter nonsense. I am beginning to think that the stuff credited to me is only the reporter's own petty attitude to the Russian situation, -- a situation so complex and difficult that only the profoundest thought and most careful study could do it even approximate justice. Can either one of you imagine that I would permit personal feeling to color my judgement?

As to that humbug Schwartz, to use a favorite expression of Ben R., I got his number after a few minute's conversation, when he and his wife called on us last Spring. He at once impressed me as a quack. Our meeting lasted about ten minutes, and we never saw the couple again. Oh yes, the sword he refers to in his story -- Bill Shatoff gave it to S., a rusty old thing which was hanging on the wall when the Schwartz people called. You see how stories are manufactured. How is one to protect oneself against such fakes?

Take, for instance, the writer of the Volks Z. article. I doubt whether the man ever saw me in America. Yet he presumes to talk of my comfortable life there and how it spoiled me. I take it that he has not been spoiled in America. Yet he was utterly helpless here, and had to be looked after constantly. And then he has the impudence to report complaints on my part. You will both have to make up your minds not to credit anything. That is all. As for myself, I really do not care what is being written about me. I care much more about the superficial stuff written about Russia. Here is the greatest historic panorama in view of the whole world. Here are a people heroically starving and freezing and enduring untold misery. Here is a social cataclysm uprooting the old, transvaluing the old values, smashing theories, tearing asunder preconceived notions. Yet some fold presume to write about after a few months or even weeks in Russia. Wells spends 14 days, Mrs. Sheridan a few weeks. Amazing people!

But, then, what is the Revolution to them? Mrs. Sheridan's English blood boils when she has to get in the same box with Hindoos and Egyptians. I hope the blood of the Hindoos and Egyptians boiled even more when they had to be near this English snub whose class has shed so much Hindoo, Egyptian and Irish blood. No, Stella, darling, I cannot agree with you that the "lady" writes interestingly and humanly. She writes not badly, but the stuff is silly and superficial. Her description of Balabanova is outrageous, to say the least. Bal. is one of the most unassuming, self-effacing women in Russia. She is a rare type in her idealism and revolutionary spirit. Besides, she is tremendously able and brilliant. The Revolution, to her, is not symbolized in the few great individuals sought out by the English adventuress. Bal. was frank enough to say so to the lady. Therefore that spiteful picture of a truly great personality, whom a Mrs. Sheridan can no more understand than she can understand any other vital things in the Russian Revolution. By the way, I am writing this in the house where Angelica Balabanova lives. She is one of the spirits that have upheld my faith, even though we are politically far apart.

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I love you for her deep sincerity, her idealism, her kindly understanding, and the deep sincerity interest and helpfulness toward all. If, then, a Sheridan can make such a caricature of Balab., what is one to expect of such simpletons as Mr., or such quacks as Schwartz? The only one who shows some understanding much fairness and above all a large grasp of R. is B.R. I am just reading his book. But even he is not in a position to do the matter justice. Without the language, and only after one month in Russia, how can he or anyone else?

Mme. L. has not arrived. She must have sent the letter from Sweden. Our dear friend from the N. is here again. He is such a nice chap. By the way, tell Miss K. of the N. that I appreciate the article. So glad there are a few publications in America with a sense of fairness. I did not yet see the L. containing my radio. I was promised the copy. I did see the Nov. issue containing the reply of B.M. to his critics. It is so full of misstatements, unintentional, I am sure, that it would require several articles to correct them. Dear B. forgets that things move swiftly here, so that it is unwise to make statements when one is away so long. -- So ~~Sam~~ Steffens is back; I have often wondered what had become of him. Give him my regards. Also to B., whose position I consider very weak -- that comes from "changing one's mind a little" in a very great issue.

Our dear old Dr. is actually going back. I shall miss him terribly; he has been a great comfort. He will bring you my love and my message. He will also give you both detailed instructions regarding visits. I do not think there will be any objections in this matter at this end. At any rate, I will see the proper people about it, before we start on our next trip for the Museum. The Dr. will tell you the rest; in fact, everything. I am very anxious Max should be present. ~~Dear~~ Dearest Max, never did I need his deep understanding more than now. His sweet spirit, his clean viewpoint would help me so much in my present mental stress. You must ask him when our Dr. comes to see you. -- Of course, you have read of Kropotkin illness. The dear Dr. was among the physicians at the consultation. Peter took a great liking to him. By the way, he did much for our old man. Tell Dr. C. to make it good with him, you understand. I did not go out to see Peter -- too many visitors as it is. But I kept in daily touch. He is much better now, though very weak after two severe heart attacks. His spirit is as young and sweet as ever. I shall go out to see him when I return to Moscow in a few weeks. For the present we go back to Petrograd to prepare for our next trip for the Museum. We are still uncertain whether it is to be Siberia or the Crimea, most likely the latter. Shall keep you posted. In any event, we shall be back in May. I can hardly believe you will come, Stella darling. It seems too good to be true. If you only knew how I long for you. And for you, ~~dearest~~ F. By the way, it is best not to make any more promises to F. about coming. It wears him out. When you will really be on the way, it will be time enough. S. is much upset and does not feel like writing, but he will send a message through our friend. You must not be angry with him, Fitz ~~de~~ dearest we are both fighting the spiritual battle of our lives.

Dearie, do not send anything more through strangers. The Rose W. you speak of had evidently kept all the things, trunk and all.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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When she gave me the shoes and the one fifty for S. (three months ago) she said not a word about any trunk. S. saw her the other day and told her what you had written. She then admitted having received cigarettes and summer suit, but claimed she had no room for them and that she left them in the US. But she said nothing about other things or about the trunk. I had seen one in her room, and now I wonder if it is not the one you had bought specially. It is an outrage. Better send nothing more. We can wait till you come. I have enough winter clothes. If the new winter dress is made, bring it. If not, I can do without it. Now that I have the summer dresses I need only light underwear, some more aprons to cover the whole dress, a summer kimono, handkerchiefs, all of which you will get much cheaper in England. S. needs a summer suit badly. If you dear F. could get in touch with the tailor Goldman in Chicago, he would make S. a suit he has the measurements. He also needs BVDe, but mainly a suit, ~~hexhasxthaxthingsxthaxwill~~. About other things there will be time to write later. So Jesus could not make your son good? Poor Jesus, I fear Ian is not his only failure in goodness. Dearest Ian, he is developing, isn't he? What an experience the trip will be for him. He always wanted to go on a big boat with his Tante. I can't tolerate the idea that I may not see him. I hope it can be arranged somehow even if not in R. Hug him for me -- I wonder will M. find some happinesses with Mr. W. I hope so. Give her my love, and my thanks to W. for the gift. Better not bring it along. One is too loaded for R. as it is. How is Hyman and his children? You never mention him. My love to them and to all our R. people. Saxe might write his old pal a letter sometime. I am terribly sorry about Mother. I do hope she will be spared going by inches. She was so alert and intelligent when I saw her last. Much, much love to her. And my own Moishe is doing well? I am so glad. Yes, life is full of strange things. Anyone related to Kolchak should be assistant to Kalamb's brother! Strange indeed.----Manya S. has at last heard from her boy (through Bessie K.) I wish the boy could send for his mother. She is a wreck almost, and will not last long unless taken to another climate. Between Manya's sister and the boy, they might manage it. Write the boy to get in touch with his aunt. O---I am glad you can make use of my letters for publicity. But for the love of Mike, tell Dr. C. to get a better translator. Never read a more vulgar Jewish in my life. It must never happen again. Our Dr. friend will tell you how to get magazines to us.--N., Lib., Pearson's. Send me also some of the new books, saw reviews in the L. What is Marg. Anderson doing? Give her my love.

Dearest own, it is over a year since we landed here. What hopes, what expectations what terrible struggles. Darling precious mine, write often. I just live for news from you. And you, Fittie dearest. I hold you both close, close to me. Love to Teddy, Ian, Pauline, Max, and his family. Affectionate greetings to my dear old counsellor. Why does he not write? There is a reason in my silence; what is there in his? Greetings to H.K., Leonard and all our friends.

Longingly and with deep love, your
Em.

Petrograd, Feb. 5th.

Darling Stella, on my return here I found your letter

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Dec. 17 and 19, and I cannot tell you how happy you made me by writing me again that in the Spring you will pay your visit. I shall count the days. I long for you with all my being, and for my dearest F. You say that AB. was to leave in Jan. and alone. How bad. And does that mean that F. has postponed her vacation indefinitely? That is, that there is no opportunity in view at present? It would be indeed a very great disappointment to me, dearest F. and as to S., my dear, you must really tell him definitely what to expect, for the poor boy is wearing his heart out waiting and waiting. As I already mentioned in this letter, I found in Moscow letters (four) from you, Stella; dear, and now the last one here in Petrograd. But from you dear F there was only one brief note for S. It must be that some of your letters fail to reach for I am sure that you write often.

I am in haste now, as I have just received a long-distance phone from Moscow, asking me to come at once to help nurse our dear old man. I think he asked for me. I am leaving tonight. He is reported to be very weak, but I trust I shall not be too late. That Van. story is too silly for anything. I never saw him, didn't try to see him, and such a crazy notion would never enter my mind. He is just lying. Nor is there any truth whatever about Adolph having been killed by the Japanese. He is with Shatoff in Siberia working on the railroads. Ketzds and Oroa. are also well and as usual, and so are Bianki, Perkus, Dora, Ethel, etc., All are well and working. Much love to you both dear girls, and please write soon.

Dear old Leon, I am often thinking of you. Read this letter, as it is also for you and then forward it. Are you well and active? You also might occasionally send me a good long letter. My best greetings to you and comrades.

E.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Feb. 25, Petrograd [to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / Em[ma Goldman].— 4 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Petrograd. Feb 25th. 1901

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Darling, darling Stella. Yesterday I wrote you a four paged letter. This afternoon our dear old faithful Vassille Andreyev came with letters from you. F, Saxe, Ruthie, Moe, Max, Elizabeth G F, Carlo T. Van and Pauline. It was like a break of brilliant sunshine from a black horizon. My letter looked so pale, so inadequate in comparison, so I decided to rewrite it. I never realized that letters could mean so much when one is utterly cut off from one's own, a stranger in a strange land. I know now that without them life would be altogether unbearable for me. I was so happy to day, almost as if I had spent a day with you my most beloved though even at best letters can never take the place of listening to you voice and holding you close to my heart. Still, I count this day a red letter day. S. will write for himself but I may state here that he too was happy especially as he had not heard from dear F, since Oct 29th.

I must begin at the beginning. We returned from Moscow Wed. The same day we learned that Andreyev had arrived with mail and things for us. We immediately began to locate him. Only to day I sent him a line to the lodgings where the deportees had been housed. But the dear boy came before my note even reached him. Now Sasha has gone off with him to fetch the things you sent. I am sure nothing will be missing this time, dear Vassille always has been so reliable. Not so the others. From your letter he brought I learned with disgust that we were literally robbed by the girls whom F wrote could be depended upon as much as Rose B. Those girls especially Rose Markus did not even tell us that she was given anything outside of my shoes and the cash F sent Sasha. It is true she stated that the parcel had been distributed among the three of them and that the balance would come later. Well, the other two women brought what I have already written you about, three dresses, not the silk one, petty coat, waist and very little of the notion, also a pair of silk glove. Nothing in the way of medicine, cigarettes, or anything else. Not a word about the trunk you sent. Of course I could turn the matter over to the people who would make those girls pay heavily. Naturally I will not do it. But the next time I go to Moscow I will confront P. M. with your letter.

The parcels sent through Zorin has so far also not arrived. He did get a parcel for himself, sent to him. I wonder did you address the packages c/o Zorin for us? They may have gone to Moscow, since our mail always goes to M first. While there last week I was told by the American representative of the Joint Board that a shipload of stuff had come to the Jewish Commissariat. S and I left authorization with Koldofsky to collect the packages for us if they are among the load that arrived from America. I hope he will find them there. It makes me sick to think that you and other friends so hard pressed should spend such moneys for us without anything reaching us. If we fail to get the packages we may ask the foreign office to make inquiries and notify Dubrovsky. I will let you know when we return to Moscow which is to be soon.

I am inclosing a copy of short letter which went through Krassin a week ago together with copy of my Kropotkin article which K also took out. I wrote the article at the suggestion of Of H A, from the Nation and Mr Ransome. I have not met the latter. But A told me that R wanted me to write an article for the Manchester Guardian which I did. It is to be published simontannously in the Guardian and the Nation. R sent a personal note with the article to the editor of the Guard. and A to the M. You will be amused when I tell you that R said "E G is easily the most famous anarchist in R now. That her article is most interesting but somewhat spoiled through many declamations" Funny isn't? He expected

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me to write about the world's greatest anarchist without any reference to his anarchism. However, he urged the publication of my article, so it may appear in the M.G. Our friend A., is quite another type. He not only did not find fault, but he spoke warmly of the article and urged the N. to accept a series of articles about K. which both S. and I are anxious to write. I hope the N. will accept from Sasha. A. suggested that they do so. Or that they accept them from both of us. In any event I sent you a copy of the one sent directly to the N., in case that one is lost. You will do well to go up to the N. to inquire. If the Amer. press were not so yellow, I would ask you to see several magazines about articles on K. Such a marvelously rich life one could write so much about. But who is there among our magazines that would have the courage to bring anything by A.S. or E.G. Perhaps the New Republic. What do you think? No harm trying.

You write that the World wants articles on Russia. Really? Dearest mine, if I could write about R. as I'd like to, the World wouldn't take my articles. And the kind it would take, I would certainly never write. I think I have already stated in one of my letters that I find it amazing how superficially most people, friends as well as enemies, write about R. The most stupendous thing in the world's history, the most complex situation -- yet people presume to judge it, to write about it after a few weeks in the country, without the knowledge of the language, and not having gone further than Moscow. Well, neither the World nor any other paper will get me to furnish the same kind of rot. To do justice to the subject I would have to be in a more peaceful frame of mind picture the world's panorama with understanding, affection and devotion. And that can only be done in book form and away from the scene of strife, and struggle. Feeling as I do about R., it is so absurd to me when I am credited with silly interviews or stupid statements. But no one cannot save himself from unscrupulous sensation mongers, can one?

Our two weeks in Moscow were most strenuous. After we buried our grand old man, we had to set to work to organize a Kropotkin Memorial Committee. That we have done. The Committee consists of Sophie and Sasha Kropotkin, A.S. and myself, and six other Russian comrades. It will have all executive functions. Besides that an advisory committee is to be organized. Into it will be invited representatives of all Anarchist organizations, scientific and literary bodies etc. That will be attended to later. For the present the work will be done by the Executive Committee. The officers are Sophie Kropotkin, President, and I to act in that capacity while she is absent in Dmitrov, which means during the winter. I will have also been assigned as managing director. Our Sasha is general secretary. Shapiro and two other comrades are the financial committee, all monies to be signed for by A.S. and Shapiro. All these details, of course, will be set forth in the statement and appeal we are preparing for Europe and America, and which will be ready for mailing in about a fortnight. Meanwhile you might see H.K. and have him call together a few comrades with the idea of organizing a Kropotkin Memorial Committee. We will need the cooperation of all comrades everywhere to make the K. Museum a success, as it is definitely decided to ask for no financial aid from the government. We had to ask for the house where Peter was born and spent the first 15 years of his life. It was granted to the Committee.

We are sorry to give up our expeditionary work for the Museum of the Revolution. Everybody connected with us was perfectly splendid to us. But the comrades insist we take charge of the K. Museum work, and course it is of more importance, we hope to make it a worthy memorial. and

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...the house is in a very bad way. It will take three months at least to have it ready for use. During that time we must stick to M. Of course we can not join the next expedition of the Muzee of the Revolution which we regret deeply. No one had such wonderful opportunity to see the country as we. However we maybe able to make another trip late in the summer.

It goes without saying that our connection with the K museum must remain free from any material remunerations. For this reason we have decided to find some kind of work which would not take up all our time and make us self supporting. We don't know yet what it is to be. Possibly the Petrograd muzee may establish a branch in M with us as their representatives. If not we will find some translations to do. Anyhow we want to feel free about our work for the K Museum. We go to Moscow in about two weeks. We do not yet know where we will live while there. The housing problem is most acute in M. But several friends are searching for quaters for us. Just as soon as we hear from them we move to M. The foreign office will be our permanent address.

Martens and his suite arrived. I did not try to see him. I was so depressed by the death of our beloved Peter and so tired out from the strain of the care of the family and the preparation of the funeral I had no desire to see any one. Besides Martens must be overwhelmed with work and people. Least but not last since I never met him in America there is no need of looking him up here. I saw Louise. She returned from Bucharria recently, looks much better and has gained in poise considerably. She sent a cable about the K funeral and our connection with it. The death of Peter is an irreparable loss to the whole world but more so to Russia. His was the one voice that spoke out when others kept silent, a great moral force though he was not active. To my his death is a terrible blow. But even more so the fact that I came too late to be of service to him. I am left with a feeling that he may have wanted to leave a message, else why should he have called so persistantly for me? And now he is no more and we are all the poorer for it.

Sasha and Vassilie have come back laden with the beautiful thing you sent. I was so moved I could hardly restrain my tears. Darling child you are the one joy in life left me. My love for you was always great and deep. But my year away from you has deepened my love and devotion beyond expression. How little we do appreciate our dear ones until we are far away from them. And precious Me, he wrote me such a beauty full letter. The Kimono is a marvel, indeed so gorgeous I could never wear it in starved and I should feel like a criminal if I had it on me. But I appreciate its beauty and Moes love more than I can say. Tell him, I will write him soon. I have sent him a message with our dear Doc and to you and the others. I depend upon him more than on any one else to give you a clear idea of many things I have not been able to make you understand. By the way, tell the dear Doc I visited his brother and had a lovely evening with him and his family. He is going to help us with the remodeling of the K house.

Dearest, precious mine. I am looking forward hungrily to your visit. Dr V will give you all instructions about the necessary letters of introductions from the right people you must not fail to get. Also in England you should see Mr L from the Daily Herald. I think you know him. He can help you much. Of course I will be on the look out for

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for you. I hope fervently you may be able to go abroad it will do you and Teddy and the kid a world of good. And it will give me a new lease on life to see and hold you close.

Darling I do not pretend to answer your dear letters or any of the others I received through our faithful Vassilic. I will write again soon in reply to everybody. To night I am dreadfully tired and I need the machine his being in keep with a comrade. We expect the friend who is to take this letter out tomorrow so we must have both letters ready to night.

Yours and Fitzies birthday is the 16th of March. I should so want to send you both some gift. If our friend consents to take it along and ship it from England I will send something. I have a few beautiful things for you both but I do not want to risk it unless it is some one dependable. Well, if I can not send it I will give it to you when we meet. Meanwhile I send my love and my passionate wish that your coming year may bring you some joy, some deep and beautiful experience. I kiss you tenderly. So Minnie has married Mr W. I am so glad to know that she is happy. I think of her often and my own dear sister who has had so little happiness in life. Send Minnie my love and best greetings to my new nephew in law. Tell them both some day I might visit them. Dearest Max, at last a letter from him. I want very much to write him and Ruthie who wrote a beautiful letter. Will do so soon. Meanwhile much much love to them all. Yes I can imagine what a an event it must have been in the life of your people to have Harry with them. How fortunate the boy went out to Calif at that time. It is the one successful suggestion I have made. I am glad of it.

The letter from Max is as beautifully tender and deep as his spirit. I do so hope he can get out to Germany. A comrade who just arrived from there tells of Rockers splendid work in the Syndicalist ranks. Max would find tremendous work there much more than I have found here, or rather than I could consistently do. Put Max for me, tell him I might be able to adjust myself here if I were not what he liked best in me. Indeed he is right when he says that there are so many different ways before us in the world struggle. But call his attention to that line in Dr Stockman where grim old Ibsen said a man must not spit in his own face. I am never accurate in quotations but Max will know what I mean.

Good night precious mine. Love to all our people, our beloved Ian boy, Teddy, Moe, and the rest. Love to the N Y friends, H K dear old faithful Harry. It is good of him to stand by his word. Tell him he should get busy about the K Memorial. Also he should try to collect letters which Peter must have written to a lot of people in America. Yanovsky, Dr C, Erskin Ely etc. They should all be collected for the K Museum. We have wonderful photos of K on his dead bed, in the coffin and the procession. We are having them reproduced and will send some to you and H K. Our Sasha looks as real as life. I kept much in the back ground except for the time when I was speaking at the grave and was caught by the movies I look as abominable as ever on such occasions.

I hold you very very close my best beloved child.

Em

P.O. 30441 1921 - Feb 25
Emma Goldman (to Stella Ballantine)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Feb. 25, Petrograd [to] Carl [Newlander, Stockholm? Sweden] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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12577

Petrograd. Feb 25th 1921

Dear, dear Carl. What must you think of us that we never write. Believe me dear boy I have not forgotten you. Neither has A B. We talk about you all the time. We would give anything to have a heart to heart talk with you. But it is impossible to do so in a letter. Russia has been so terribly misrepresented both for evil and for good that I for one find it utterly impossible to write anything comprehensive and in fairness. Some day soon R maybe in a more normal state, perhaps it will then be possible to explain the unexplainable. Until then we must wait.

You have no doubt read the cables and radios sent out from Moscow about the illness, death and funeral procession of our grand old man. Soon you will be able to read a more detailed account which is being prepared for Europe. I can not now give you a lengthy account of the tremendous outburst of love and devotion demonstrated by the whole city of Moscow to our grand old man. ~~That~~ was the most spontaneous public token I have seen since I am in R. Since the funeral a Kropotkin Memorial Committee has been organized. But you will get all that through my letter to Stella copy of which I am inclosing. Later on you will get a copy of our call to the European comrades for cooperation to make the Kropotkin Museum of world wide importance.

From the contents of my letter to Stella you will also be able to gather a few stray thoughts about our life here. It is all I can write about for the present. You say Brand wants something about Russia. Dear Carolus and many other publications would be glad to get something from us about R. Stella writes the N Y World is crazy to get something. If I could write as superficially as most people do who have written about R, it would be easy to send articles. But to me R is at once the most gigantic and most complex issue in all the world. To give interviews, or even write in letters on this question would mean a sacrilege, not to speak of the fact that everything would be distorted, hence I can not write. Perhaps later, when R is given breathing space, when she is no longer in the straight jacket of European imperialism it will be possible to write. Until then you and my other friends will have to read between the lines.

I am glad to get Belinskis and Kassells letters. Write them for me and quote what I said here. I have nothing more to add to it. Give them both my best regards, much love to my old pal John K. So glad he is still alive and kicking. And you dear boy? You say life is hard in your native land. I think it is hard in all lands, the whole world a sort of treadmill. I sent you a short note through a Swedish friend who left here about a month ago. I wonder did it ever reach you. Since then we have been in Moscow and back again twice and are now preparing to move there all together. Do write us dear Carl c/o the foreign office Moscow. We too, will be able to keep in touch with you more than we did in the past. Perhaps I maybe able to visit you in the summer. I wonder would Sweden let me in?

Devotedly

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I am sending you a little cloth-old Russian work, a sort of scarf for dear Fizzie. I'm also sending a pink "kerchief of very fine linen. It was handwoven by a niece of Peter Kropotkin. I want it to go to Miriam's daughter for an apron or some other thing H might make her. My love to little Helen and Miriam goes with the gift. Thank M. for the lovely nightgowns she sent, also too nice for Russian conditions. As to the Kimono, it's a beaut, but so utterly incongruous for R, that I could never get myself to wear it. Will give it to you when you come. Tell Ida and Mo I have gifts for them, will send them at the first opportunity which will probably be when H.A. returns to the states. Meanwhile they both have my deepest love. Mo ~~and Ida~~ ~~and Ida~~ ~~and Ida~~

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870921085

[Letter] 1[92]1 March 2, Petrograd [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Vassilie brought some old Liberator also a copy of Pearsons. What a superficial person Barry is. I never believed him to be anything else. Still I did not expect quite such light weight. His Ravings of the masses are very much. I am sorry to say our friend has not accredited himself as much as one might have hoped. But men like B are caught by glittering externalities. The rest is closed to them, fortunately, else they might even misrepresent what is most vital. I do like to read F H. even if he runs off into such enthusiastic paths as he does in his review of Goldman's book. B. always leads enchantment. However H writes so well I love to read him even when I do not agree with him. I wish I could get Pearsons more regularly. I am sure if it were sent to the Herald with the request to send it to us we would get it. Would also like the Nation and Liberator. Remember me most kindly to F H Tell him it is a source of deep regret to me that I can not write for P. If I could do it as the B. and others. But to write in such manner about R is a thing inconceivable to me.

Tell Van I never believed in monopoly not even my own monopoly on economics as he puts it. Where did he get the idea that I am in the board of health and that A B is a teacher? Neither is true. We have been with the Musée of the Revolution since last May. And I am glad to say that we will be able to continue work for it although we are removing to Moscow to be in charge of the organization of the K Museum. Tell him also that I still fail to grasp the Hindoo philosophy on unemployment. I am sorry to disappoint dear Van for I like him very much. Thanks for his gift though kid gloves in R are also too much of a luxury.

Nothing more do not be so sure of my usefulness or reward in life. I have never felt more useless. That I should feel thus in Russia is more terrible to me than anything that has ever happened. Perhaps you will understand after W has talked to you. As to reward, whoever cared for that? There is no such a thing for those who are organically unfit to adjust themselves to the unadjustable, or rather can not recon- cile the irreconcilable. But you must not worry sweetheart I will survive. I hope a wiser person.

Dear Moe wants to know about my physical condition. I have been indecently well. In fact the black Russian bread and diet have cured my stomach trouble. Not so our dear S. He has had no end of trouble with his stomach, can not stand the black bread at all. On our trip South he was quite ill. But he has been much better since only he must not eat black bread. Dear old Moe. I am so glad he is doing such great work tell him I too have lost, am quite spritely. But all that is so trivial to the storm and stress of ones mind, above all the longing to give out of oneself towards the world struggle.

One of the envelopes will contain a photo of our great Peter on his dead bed. It ought to go in the Fr A St. But I can't. I kiss you and Ian tenderly

much love to Max. Tell him I suggest he should get in touch with Rockefeller address in R. 1000 1st St. New York. Berlin

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 March 5, Petrograd [to Gregory] Zinoviev, [Petrograd?] / Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, Perkus, Petrovsky. — 2 p. ; 20 x 27 cm.
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

196 MY DISILLUSIONMENT IN RUSSIA

called for their immediate subjugation. Several other Communists followed suit. When the meeting was opened for discussion, a workingman from the Petrograd Arsenal demanded to be heard. He spoke with deep emotion, and ignoring the constant interruptions, he fearlessly declared that the workers had been driven to strike because of the Government's indifference to their complaints; the Kronstadt sailors, far from being counter-revolutionists, were devoted to the Revolution. Facing Zinoviev he reminded him that the Bolshevik authorities were now acting toward the workers and sailors just as the Kerensky Government had acted toward the Bolsheviks. "Then *You* were denounced as counter-revolutionists and German agents," he said; "we, the workers and sailors, protected you and helped you to power. Now you denounce us and are ready to attack us with arms. Remember, you are playing with fire."

Then a sailor spoke. He referred to the glorious revolutionary past of Kronstadt, appealed to the Communists not to engage in fratricide, and read the Kronstadt resolution to prove the peaceful attitude of the sailors. But the voice of these sons of the people fell on deaf ears. The Petro-Soviet, its passions roused by Bolshevik demagoguery, passed the Zinoviev resolution ordering Kronstadt to surrender on pain of extermination.

The Kronstadt sailors were ever the first to serve the Revolution. They had played an important part in the revolution of 1905; they were in the front ranks in 1917. Under Kerensky's régime they proclaimed the Commune of Kronstadt and opposed the Constituent Assembly. They were the advance guard in the October Revolution. In the great struggle against Yudenitch the sailors offered the strongest defence of Petrograd and Trotsky praised them as the "pride and glory of the Revolution." Now, however, they had dared to raise their voice in protest against the new rulers of Russia. That was high treason from the Bolshevik viewpoint. The Kronstadt sailors were doomed.

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Petrograd was aroused over the decision of the Soviet; some of the Communists even, especially those of the French Section, were filled with indignation. But none of them had the courage to protest, even in the Party circles, against the proposed slaughter. As soon as the Petro-Soviet resolution became known, a group of well-known literary men of Petrograd gathered to confer as to whether something could not be done to prevent the planned crime. Someone suggested that Gorki be approached to head a committee of protest to the Soviet authorities. It was hoped that he would emulate the example of his illustrious countryman Tolstoy, who in his famous letter to the Tsar had raised his voice against the terrible slaughter of workers. Now also such a voice was needed, and Gorki was considered the right man to call on the present Tsars to bethink themselves. But most of those present at the gathering scouted the idea. Gorki was of the Bolsheviks, they said; he would not do anything. On several previous occasions he had been appealed to, but refused to intercede. The conference brought no results. Still, there were some persons in Petrograd who could not remain silent. They sent the following letter to the Soviet of Defence:

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TO THE PETROGRAD SOVIET OF LABOUR AND DEFENCE, CHAIRMAN
ZINOVIEV:

To remain silent now is impossible, even criminal. Recent events impel us Anarchists to speak out and to declare our attitude in the present situation.

The spirit of ferment and dissatisfaction manifest among the workers and sailors is the result of causes that demand our serious attention. Cold and hunger have produced dissatisfaction, and the absence of any opportunity for discussion and criticism is forcing the workers and sailors to air their grievances in the open.

White-guardist bands wish and may try to exploit this dissatisfaction in their own class interests. Hiding behind the workers and sailors they throw out slogans of the Constituent Assembly, of free trade, and similar demands.

We Anarchists have long since exposed the fiction of these slogans, and we declare to the whole world that we will fight with arms

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198 MY DISILLUSIONMENT IN RUSSIA

against any counter-revolutionary attempt, in coöperation with all friends of the Social Revolution and hand in hand with the Bolsheviks.

Concerning the conflict between the Soviet Government and the workers and sailors, we hold that it must be settled not by force of arms but by means of comradely, fraternal revolutionary agreement. Resort to bloodshed on the part of the Soviet Government will not—in the given situation—intimidate or quiet the workers. On the contrary, it will serve only to aggravate matters and will strengthen the hands of the Entente and of internal counter-revolution.

More important still, the use of force by the Workers' and Peasants' Government against workers and sailors will have a reactionary effect upon the international revolutionary movement and will everywhere result in incalculable harm to the Social Revolution.

Comrades Bolsheviks, bethink yourselves before it is too late. Do not play with fire: you are about to make a most serious and decisive step.

We hereby submit to you the following proposition: Let a Commission be selected to consist of five persons, inclusive of two Anarchists. The Commission is to go to Kronstadt to settle the dispute by peaceful means. In the given situation this is the most radical method. It will be of international revolutionary significance.

Petrograd,
March 5, 1921.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.
EMMA GOLDMAN.
PERKUS.
PETROVSKY.

But this protest was ignored.

On March 7th Trotsky began the bombardment of Kronstadt, and on the 17th the fortress and city were taken, after numerous assaults involving terrific human sacrifice. Thus Kronstadt was "liquidated" and the "counter-revolutionary plot" quenched in blood. The "conquest" of the city was characterized by ruthless savagery, although not a single one of the Communists arrested by the Kronstadt sailors had been injured or killed by them. Even before the storming of the fortress the Bolsheviks summarily executed numerous soldiers of the Red Army whose revolutionary spirit and solidarity caused them to refuse to participate in the bloodbath.

Several days after the "glorious victory" over Kronstadt Lenin said at the Tenth Congress of the Communist

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Party of Russia: "The sailors did not want the counter-revolutionists, but they did not want us, either." And—irony of Bolshevism!—at that very Congress Lenin advocated free trade—a more reactionary step than any charged to the Kronstadt sailors.

Between the 1st and the 17th of March several regiments of the Petrograd garrison and all the sailors of the port were disarmed and ordered to the Ukraina and the Caucasus. The Bolsheviks feared to trust them in the Kronstadt situation: at the first psychological moment they might make common cause with Kronstadt. In fact, many Red soldiers of the Krasnaya Gorka and the surrounding garrisons were also in sympathy with Kronstadt and were forced at the point of guns to attack the sailors.

On March 17th the Communist Government completed its "victory" over the Kronstadt proletariat and on the 18th of March it commemorated the martyrs of the Paris Commune. It was apparent to all who were mute witnesses to the outrage committed by the Bolsheviks that the crime against Kronstadt was far more enormous than the slaughter of the Communards in 1871, for it was done in the name of the Social Revolution, in the name of the Socialist Republic. History will not be deceived. In the annals of the Russian Revolution the names of Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Dibenko will be added to those of Thiers and Gallifet.

Seventeen dreadful days, more dreadful than anything I had known in Russia. Agonizing days, because of my utter helplessness in the face of the terrible things enacted before my eyes. It was just at that time that I happened to visit a friend who had been a patient in a hospital for months. I found him much distressed. Many of those wounded in the attack on Kronstadt had been brought to the same hospital, mostly *Kursanti*. I had opportunity to speak to one of them. His physical suffering, he said, was nothing as compared with his mental agony. Too late he had realized that he had been duped by the cry

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[Letter] 1921 April 10, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman].— 3 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Moscow, April 10th, 1921

My dearest.

As you see we are in Moscow, this time for considerable time. We have taken most of our things with us and are settled, as far as any one can be settled in R, in S. K.'s rooms. She has at last gone to Europe. She promised me faithfully to write you. I am sure she will keep her promise, so you will hear from her. I wrote you before we left Petrograd the last days of March. Now we have a chance to send this with a friend who is leaving R. We are also sending a few gifts which he will forward to you so you can give them out as follows; the table cloth and the linen hand worked are for you my own beloved child. The scarf is for you dearest Fitz. The string of dull amber is for Pauline. The small center piece is for Ida Diamond. The linen insertion for Sarah Gruber. The ~~an~~ Kaukasian wooden ash holder for Mo. To Rochester you send the linen material for waist to your mother, the cigarette holder for Saxe and the rug to Miriam. I wanted my old lady to have something but I could find nothing for her. Perhaps I will some time later, will then send it to her. The white lace is to go to Kitty B. It is hand made, by the niece of Peter K. There are two other pieces, the friend who takes them all will send directions about them. Well, dearest mine, I only hope that you have better luck with the things I am sending you than we had with those you sent us. We have only now discovered that R M, R B friend has involved herself in so many false statements that it is impossible to get at anything straight. It develops that she actually brought the trunk you bought, but she now claims Fitzie gave her permission to keep the trunk for herself. She simply left her old trunk home and brought the new one with her. Then she claims that she told R, B, to inform Fitzie that she can take only few of the things your trunk contained, the rest she would leave with her landlady and that R, B. should give parcels to different people who will come here. In this way the things got lost, at least most of them. As I said, the girl is a crook, else she would have notified you that she can take only a few things and would have returned the balance trunk and all to you. Or, she would have told us when she came that she brought the trunk without the things. However its passed, no use talking about this matter. The only thing you or F might still do is to get R B to collect whatever is still left from all you gave the girl and to stop the shipment. Not another thing must be sent us.

Still worse than the R M business is the one about the parcels you sent through Dr D. The whole shipload is here but so far no one has received anything. We are going to put in a request for them, or rather a demand. But I am not very hopeful. I can not go into the matter as you may well understand. However you should see Dr D and tell him that we have not received our parcels, nor has the wife of A. In fact no one. Should we get them we will let you know at once. In either case we ask you not to send us anything more, it is a waste of money which is so scarce with you, indeed with all of those who sent things to their friends and relatives. There are other reasons why we do not want anything sent, we'll manage somehow, please do not send anything. . . . The friend who is leaving will write you and explain things, although you must know much since our good Doctor has returned. I saw his brother and learned through him that the Dr has reached A early in March. Tell him if he sent any parcels from Reval no one got them, I mean no one of those he sent them to.

I hope dearest you can have a trip abroad. But if we are to meet it will be later on. I think I have already notified you that it will be best to visit Teddys mother first, much may change until then. It will not do at all for you to come here first. That too, I can not go into to. You will be informed in due time. S will probably write F, why she too must not think of a visit. It is for the best dearest.

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One of the boys who came here recently gave Sasha your two letters of Jan 30th and Feb 22nd. You let a whole month go by between the two letters. I understand it was because you thought us away. Well, you will know from several letters we have sent that we did not go on our trip. I am looking forward to recent letters from you after Dr W has seen you.

From the clipping in Pearsons I am again convinced how ridiculous it is to write anything out of R save the mere fact of physical existence. Certainly F H is no fool, why would he put such meaning into my letter? The very reverse of what he states is the case. But it is no use attempting to convey anything to people outside. However you may thank him for his kind words about me. I suppose he is the only public man who writes anything at all about me, is he not?

I feel thoroughly ashamed that I forgot your sons birthday. Heaven knows I think of him often enough. But one forgets everything here in the light of the soul ~~struggle~~ struggle one endures. I must be big. That he is handsome you need not tell me. His mother too was a beauty ~~when~~ his age which does not mean that she is ugly now. Oh, my darling, if you knew how I long for you. But one must learn to stifle ones longing, to stifle everything within oneself. You remember my grandmother you visited when I was in Missouri who told you I will yet come to agree with her. Well, she was only too right. I have thought of her much, ~~oh so much~~ this last year.

Dear Steward Kerr, he is certainly beautifully thoughtful. It happens I do not need glasses. I had two pair with me. It is poor Sasha who is in a bad fix. He brok his big galases and is much annoyed by the pair he has. We sent the broken pair with some one who left a month ago, asked him to see you at once and have you send S a new pair. I do not know whether the man has reached A. Please thank Steward for me, tell him I am very deeply moved by his devotion. I think of him often and the days on 125 th ST.

So H M was 50? I hardly realized he was turning me such a close shave. Give him my belated congratulations. Does he still intend to go abroad? And when? Would he go to Sweden? I might be able to see him there. I should love to see him and talk over many things. Let me know. Also about yourself when and where you are going. Above all your addresses, so we can keep in touch. Teddy seems to have done splendid work the reviews are fine. Would give anything to see him again on or off the stage, especially as he was that great New Years Eve when he made up so to his old Tante. I'd give anything to meet some body who is not matter of fact, who has something else in life but out and dried theories. Give Teddy my love.

I am so sorry dearest you had trouble about the Apt. But then everything of that period went wrong. What a ghastly period. One survives much in life. Does one get wiser or better? I some times despair. I am very very glad to know that our Minnie is finding some peace and happiness. The poor girl had enough to bear in the last three years, to lose father, mother and brother, all such rare and beautiful souls in so short a time would tax the bravest of us. I wish you would send me their address in Manila, I may need it some day. When you write her give her my love and kindest regards to my nephew in law. Tell him if he will love Minnie I will make a place for him in my heart.

No I was not the chief but one of the speakers at the K grave, my first and only speech in R. We are here to begin work on the Museum, but it will be slow and difficult and we may not accomplish much. Still

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we will do what we can. We have not yet sent out the appeal for the museum to our comrades abroad. But we will soon. You can tell Harry that he may look forward to it also instructions, we want him and F to be the American representatives, to organize a K Memorial, collect materials and funds. As I already stated, S K has gone abroad, her mother lives in Dmitrov. She is now preparing the mass of manuscripts the old man left behind. Her life is pretty lonely and hard now as you can well imagine. He came to town for a few days to meet the rest of the committee, but is going back to day.

So Mrs Kassler has been to see you. How far all these people seem now. The last three years, especially the last 10 months have meant a whole life, so much crowded into them. However it was decent of her to call, it shaves she has not forgotten me altogether.

What is this about the Italian cases, those boys you wrote about? I don't seem to place them. What are they charged with? Do write about the matter more fully. The whole world has turned into an hideous slaughter house, such persecution, such callousness to human life. Yes, we were deeply interested in Mc Donalds confession. But will that free Moony and Billings? The law is relentless in its grip, it never lets go. You must keep us posted about the developments, we are naturally very much concerned.

I congratulate Mary V on her new acquisition though Bob is a flighty kid. It must have been amusing to read the story of their lives. I hope they did not mind it. Yes, I should like to see what B has to say about his experience. Publicity was always his obsession. I guess it was hard for him to stand it so long without his name in the papers. I hope my beloved child you will not mind what he has to say. You must make up your mind that a public person belongs to the whole world. That is the penalty of all of us who have laid their lives upon the altar of the world.

Yes, I have read about Margarets adventure, why she did not have the daring to face a few weeks in jail, it would have been a worth while experience. No back bone I suppose. My sittings at Henri were much more interesting than the result. What is there in man that he would get so little out of a human character. Can you imagine anything more foreign than the portrait he made of me? Still, I always liked him so much. Remember me very kindly to him and to Mrs Henri. I used to like Bellows but he complete turn during the war made me sick. But then he is not the only one who failed to see the world calamity they were helping to bring about. They who supported the war are now responsible for the general madhouse.

I have been disturbed ten times since I started this letter. I must close now. Our friend is leaving and I must get this letter ready at once. Every time I begin to write my heart sinks. A thousand things crowd in upon me demanding expression. I think that is the way but I must remain inarticulate. On our way to Arkhangelsk I read Helen Kellers early recollection, her desperate struggles when she wanted to express herself and couldnt. I am in that state now. If only you knew my darling. By the way how is H K? Give her my love.

Good by precious, love to Teddy, Ian, I hug our little one. Love to dearest Fitz, all small favors gratefully accepted, the few lines added to yours of the 30th of Jan. When will F take time to write?

Handwritten note: I have been disturbed ten times since I started this letter. I must close now. Our friend is leaving and I must get this letter ready at once. Every time I begin to write my heart sinks. A thousand things crowd in upon me demanding expression. I think that is the way but I must remain inarticulate. On our way to Arkhangelsk I read Helen Kellers early recollection, her desperate struggles when she wanted to express herself and couldnt. I am in that state now. If only you knew my darling. By the way how is H K? Give her my love.

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12579

Moscow, April 21st 1921

My dearest, Yours of March 23rd was delivered by our old comrade two days ago. It was more disappointing than anything I have yet received from home. I had hoped fervently that Brother Mo's friend would bring you my message as I gave it to him. I don't know what he has reported, I only know that you seem to have gotten less out of it than of anything I have written you. You keep on saying you understand me. You do nothing of the kind. If you had understood, or if our friend had stuck to bare facts, you would not ask me if I can not get an appointment to some post in Great Britain. You would have realized long ago that my desperate spiritual struggle of sixteen months make it impossible for me to accept anykind of a post. How do you suppose one can keep ones integrity while pledging oneself to any kind of an agreement? One must keep such ax pledges mustnt one? And how is one to do it without feeling under obligation? If I had wanted to do that I would have had more than one important post. Dearest, dearest don't you know that one can not remain true to oneself if one binds oneself? If only you would not keep on assuring me that you understand. You even go on to say that L W understands. Really darling it is ridiculous. Yet I do not blame you. If I were not here I too, would not understand. No one can, not for the present anyhow. It may take fifty years to get beyond the great myth. ~~Some friends~~ He certainly wasn't that when he left. Ah, well, one must hold on to oneself if one is not to despair utterly.

Dearest, S. and I have definitely decided to ask for permission to leave Russia. We may not know for two months or so whether we may go, so you will do well to send me you address in England as I shall want to get in touch with you directly we reach some European port. Under the circumstances you will understand that you must not think of coming here, neither must F. As to Philo, what would he do here? He ought to go to his native land where he can at least be of use. However, if he can get away it will do no harm.

We understand that the parcels sent through the Dubrovsky channel will be given out after all, so far no one has received anything I will let you know when we finally get what you sent. It would indeed be painful if the parcels had been refused, not for us so much as for those who have nothing and look to the things sent them as to a sign from heaven. I hope you know by now that you are not to send anything more to us. The electric was useless. I am glad for Sasha glasses as he needs them badly. I am glad Bessie K postponed her coming, would to goodness must of our people did. Why must they all rush on blindly? Above all, I hope that Nellie and the boys may remain where they are for awhile. Can you and F and H W not understand the urgency of that?

As far as I know our old friend she wants neither a quiet life nor inactivity. She writes me she is nearly mad with her idleness. She must find her sphere soon if she is to go on living. You can tell Harry that if he goes abroad we will try to meet him. They can then decide their future plans. No one can arrange such matters for others, not even for oneself you know. So Gertrude married. Whom? I hope she will be happy. Dear Ellen must be glad for Gertrudes sake. What a devoted soul she was to G.

It seems my Krpotkin article failed to reach its destination. I sent a copy to The Manchester Guardian, that at the request of Ransome. Also one to the Nation at the suggestion of our good friend from that paper. Finally a copy to you with a letter written Feb 16th. I am inclosing another copy. If it is not too late F H may bring it. If not give it to the Freie Arb Stämme with my fraternal greeting to dear Dr O. Yes it will be best to dispose of the stuff you had in the warehouse it will save storage. If you can not sell them give the pamphlets away.

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12580

for free distribution. So much was destroyed and lost, a little more does not matter. It is too bad about Sasha's book. But H W ought now to make a fight on it. Since Palmer is gone there maybe a new decision. Not that I believe the present administration much better. Governments may change their skin, they have never yet changed their nature.

We had the greatest surprise the other day. Learned that the big friend of Edith Jemuth arrived. He is the last person from A we had expected to see here. He was to see us yesterday to drink coffee with us as in the olden days at 210 East 15th St. It was some clever stunt. His coming proves that where there is a will there is a way. That brings me to Edith. In the name of the saints has she stopped writing? Surely she must know how her silence affects poor S. You seem to manage to send along a few lines even if it is once a month. But F has not written in a God knows how long. What is the matter? I can understand she does not want to keep on talking about her vacation, well and good. As things are now I am not sorry she has failed to make the trip. But why torture S. with such a prolonged silence? Do tell her to write even if dramatic art will suffer for a bit. My love to her.

The other evening I met Stanislavsky at last. I had a letter to him from Iamacharsky which he gave me a year ago. St. was ill then so I did not call to see him. Last week Louise asked me to go along. St. is most charming. Invited us to his new studio where is doing new interpretive dramatic singing. It was a wonderful treat. The first time we heard this new recitative singing was in Kiev at the studio of the Kulture League, the most stirring and artistic rendering we had heard in R. Last week we heard the same rendering at St. studio. The group of singers has been with St. only five months, they had never yet been on any stage, yet each one of them was splendid and some truly great. The only one that comes anywhere near this new dramatic quality in song is of course Mary Garden, but even she lacks the naturalness of the group trained by St. What a wonderful man he is. He lives on the same street with us, so I am going to see him again soon, to get his ideas in his new venture. He does not play much himself now, he teaches and trains others. He is as great as teacher. I do hope he can get to America some day to show people how one must act.

I understand the Jewish Kulture League has been nationalized. What a pity. It was the most perfect art and literary organization I have met. Its dramatic studio, its interpretive singing, its art school for children and adults were most remarkable. Then its literary output and general cultural influence. It is a pity that they were unable to continue their work. They were very anxious to visit A. I told them our Jews need them badly, especially our uncultured Jews.

Louise has gone at last. I was glad for her sake, she was quite unhappy. The poor girl found it hard to leave Jack behind, but the dead must watch over the dead. Our friend from the Nation has also gone. Both have promised to write you for me. But what good will it do. You will get as much of it as from the doctors story. Do not think I blame you dearest, I in your place would get as little as you. The situation is the only one of its kind in human history, how should one understand unless close at hand.

It will be hard to take Ian devil with you everywhere, but it will be great fun for him. Well, let him have this wonderful experience, it will remain with him for life. Ians having to be with you all the time is another reason why I should object to your coming. Russian children have not any too much for themselves to have any one add to their burdens. Besides there are many more reasons, the main one being that we will apply for permission to leave.

Yes, I suppose it is hard for your mother to take care of my old lady. Why must one get so old and become a burden

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870930009

[Letter] 1921 May 19, Moscow [to] Stella [Ballantine] and [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald], New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

14785

Moscow May 19th. 1921

Dearest Stella and Fizzie.

I wrote you I don't know how many times the last two months. I hope the letters have reached. Last week we heard from an Nebraskan comrade who is now in Petrograd and who wrote us that he has mail for us. He is not coming here but we sent him word to give the letters to our friend ~~Stella~~ whom we expect in a few days. You can imagine how we are looking forward to your letters she is to bring along. We have had nothing from you dearest Fizzie in months. Your letter Stella darling was dated March 23rd. That means several months without word from you. It is most discouraging to be so long without mail but we are getting used to that.

In the many letters I have written lately I have informed you both that we have definitely decided to ask to be given a chance to leave Russia. More and more we have come to the conclusion we can do nothing here. And as we can not keep up a life of inactivity much longer we have decided to go. We have not yet made the request to leave but we will do so ~~now~~. For that and many other reasons I wrote you Stella that you must under no circumstances come here. Russia is not in a condition to bother about visitors and as you could come only in that capacity it is best you do not carry out your original wish. Needless to say I have considered your coming very carefully. It is after that I have come to the conclusion that even if I had no chance to see you again soon—I should yet have to oppose your coming. To that effect I have also asked an outgoing friend to cable you. Just as soon as we are permitted to leave and we get to some European port we will meet. I am sure of that. Until then we must be patient.

I hope you will go to the Russian mission. There you must go to the Press Dept. Ask for Mr or Mrs Kaminetzky. He will give you some details of our life. Also through him you will let me know your whereabouts in Europe that we may get in touch if we get out.

About ourselves there is for the present nothing to say. We have not begun our work on the K. museum for reasons which can not be explained here. We are really doing nothing except to continue our studies of affairs in R. There is so much to learn, so much to observe. The other day Agnes ~~Smalley~~ and several Hindoo friends were to see us. We were glad of their visit. They are interesting people, people who are not easily swayed. We also see some of the other American delegates if they call on us. But on the whole we are busy with the friends from America, some who were deported and others who voluntarily came here. Naturally they come to us with all their troubles. We do what we can for them. Bobbie R comes every day. He is well, though not yet fixed at anything. I know he will want to send his love to Lucy. My own maybe added to his.

Dearest Fizzie. Why do you never write an old friend? It would do me good to get a real honest to God letter from you. Do sit you down and write. Now that Stella will be gone you dear girl will have to write if you want to hear from me some time. Much love to all my friends and family members. What about my old counsellor has he received the letter I wrote him from Petrograd in Feb? Remember me affectionately to him. I would give anything to have a chat and ride with him as in the olden days. And you darling Fizzie? I think of you every day. Yesterday, especially I had you on my mind so vividly. It was the 18th, Sasha's day I made a little party for him, even baked a cake of black flour for him. Also had flowers which are being sold at 1000 and more a little bouquet. We missed you very much. Dearest, dearest Fitz, when will we be together again? I am so hungry for you and for the warmth of our friendship. It is cold and desolate in R. War and four years of suffering have

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870930009

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2

14786

have made everybody so self centered. There are exceptions of course, ~~th~~ they keep up ones faith. Perhaps it is a prejudice to long for comrade ship and the loving presence of ones friends. Some folk here consider it as such. Still, I am not ashamed to admit that I have been dreadfully lonely here. So has S. But we have not lost courage. We have unlimited faith in Russia. No matter what she will come out triumphant in the end. And that matters more than anything else.

What are your plans for the summer, Fizzie dearest? I do hope you can go away somewheres for a little rest. You work so hard for the Provincetown players and from what I hear you do not earn enough to buy yourself shoes. It is a shame. Such an able girl as you are ought certainly to command a living ~~sa~~ least. There is only one consolation for you and me my honey, we will be rewarded in heaven. Only the crooks gain glory on earth. That brings me to our Jesus man. How is he? I have tried hard to forget. But I seem to be terribly conservative in relation to my friends. I can not cast them out, though the Lord knows many have deserve no better. How is B's son? You may send father and son my regards. Am surprised the father did not make an attempt to get over here. He must have lost his Wanderlust completely. I am glad though he did not. It would be shere calamity for him to land here. One needs a strong hide and limitless humanity to meet the colossal issues which confront one.

Drop a line to my folks in Rochester, my love to my old lady, Stellas mother, Saxe, Ruthie, my brother, Helenas son, Stellas father and the rest. Love to my onw Moe. How is dearest Max? Love to him. I do hope he succeeds in paying a visit to the land of his ~~birth~~. I write this in the supposition that Stella has left. Buftin either case I want to reach you both my dears.

There have been some changes in the foreign office which makes out mail uncertain. It will be best if you write to Keel or Carl and ask them to forward your letters to us in the following way, address it to Alexander Shapiro, Milutinsky Pereulock, then on the inside envelope, have our names. You might instruct Carl or Keel to send the letters registered. Shapiro gets all his mail from England in that way, much more accurately and directly. Please keep on writing as we have not the slightest idea when we will get out.

I embrace and kiss you both tenderly.

Ethel has at last received her parcel sent through Dubrovsky, Sashas name is also on the list. I am going for the order to day. Mine is not even on their list. It may turn up in due time. One must abide in patience not an easy task for one like your old friend, is it Fitz

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The Emma Goldman Papers

811022203

[Letter] 1921 May 19, Moscow [to] Stella [Ballantine] and [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald], New York / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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Nothing to have a chat and ride with him as in the olden times Fitzie? I think of you every day. Yesterday, it was on my mind so vividly. It was the 18th, Sashas day for him, even baked a cake of black flour for him, which are being sold at 1000 and more a little. I am so hungry for you and for one warm when will we be so dissolute in R. War and four years of suffering has

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2

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I embrace and kiss you both tenderly. *cg*

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Yours Emma Goldman is to Keel, Carl, Saxe, Ruthie, Helenas son, Stellas father and the rest. Love to my onw Moe. How is dearest Max? Love to him. I do hope he succeeds in paying a visit to the land of his you man. I write this in the supposition that Stella has left. Buftin either case I want to reach you both my dears.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

891214013

[Letter, 1921 June? Moscow? to] Sophi[a Kropotkin, Moscow?] / Emma [Goldman].
 — 4 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
 Obtained from the Central State Archive of the October Revolution. Institutional Location: Peter Kropotkin Collection.

Dear Sophie,
 I received and unpacked
 your letter. I was about to distribute
 the pictures as you directed. But
 second thought I decided not to
 do so. You see dear, there are
 many of comrades in prison
 and these will not be released
 soon. There are ~~24~~ 27 people. I have
 decided the newspapers among
 them would hardly do any
 work as no one would do
 anything while you would
 be imprisoned some
 thing. Such as the papers to
 get from the papers
 the set of comrades in
 prison to have
 part of the newspapers.
 We are not the right
 one to be departed. Let
 them go at once. If you will
 let me return mail, I will
 be to Sunday. I will then be
 to divide the stuff accord-
 ing to your directions.
 Dear you, I have put some
 water glass, 2 pounds coffee
 2 pounds chocolate. Be fatigued
 there is also a parcel of tea

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[Letter, 1921 June? Moscow? to] Sophi[a Kropotkin, Moscow?] / Emma [Goldman].
 — 4 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
 Obtained from the Central State Archive of the October Revolution. Institutional Location: Peter Kropotkin Collection.

my dear & dear wife
 the cold and potatoes have
 the money to feed our people
 when do you intend to
 I want very much
 with you when you
 to Moscow if you will
 me
 hoping you are well
 affectionately
 Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

891214014

[Letter] 1921 June 1, Dmitrov [U.S.S.R. to] Emma [Goldman, Moscow?] / [Sophia Kropotkin]. — 4 p. ; 29 x 23 cm.

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Дмитров 1 июня 1921.

Дорогая Эмма.

Пишу тебе, а ты все находишь нужным прожить
от твоего товарищам. Как пишу тебе, что
ты все же у меня не переменяешь комитета, работа
со мной как с чужим, а не как у себя. А как у себя.
Вся работа, что все переменяешь, комитет не переменяешь
переменяешь, то это по уважению к тебе
такого Петра Сиверова полагать в руки
свердлов. Но кто же это свердлов, кто и
моя и все время работа переменяешь к комитету?
Петр Александрович Толбушкин? Петр Сиверов
свердлов его своим другом, писал ему в письмах
в тюрьму как другу, как своему другу.
и для Толбушкина Петра Сиверова
не меньше дорога мне своим товарищам
комитету. Толбушкин не имеет своего
своего дела, в том, в том комитете. У него есть
у него свое дело и есть свое дело в своей спе-
циальности. Он один из крупнейших и лучших
инженеров в России. И его работа была в комитете
такой работой, что было. Он работал своим
он не работал. И при этом и в том в том
комитете, акривно человек. И тому Николаю
Федер. Это же и сего надо возматывать
революцию? 3) Мне Николай Александрович
Федер? в том и он был работавшим. Петр
Сиверов его уважал и сам его на него
моя моя в работе, рукой, сам он
сам не успевает все правды и не...

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[Letter] 1921 June 1, Dmitrov [U.S.S.R. to] Emma [Goldman, Moscow?] / [Sophia Kropotkin]. — 4 p. ; 29 x 23 cm.

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Ведущую роль не играет наша Коммуна, потому что мы
ее не имеем; у нас уже сейчас есть своя организация.
Кропоткин.

Привет кого вы держите? Простите тех не имеющих
уши, которых необходимо все же в Коммунах?
Второй раз нечего бояться, что их будут, все будет
равно, что как великая борьба и в этом отношении в
Коммунах. Если мы анархической секции не будем
давать работу, что Петр Иванович как анархист
идет в первую очередь, то они и будут, будут
идти силой в Коммунах. Но всех Коммунах
сила, на стороне лучших работников. Но вот
на счет этой широкой энергичной работы не
переходим Коммуна сейчас и брать солидарность.

Почему эта группа и не может работать (Ное,
Виктор и не упрямые в буржуазности) сейчас
сейчас неимоверным количеством наших
Пора Свистунова? Это — не единственная наша
и так близко к нам к нам к нам? Мы

^{мы же сами}
^{они одни}
сохраняют эту организацию в помощи и заботе, не
отказывая им на счету его упрямости? Мы особенно
заботимся о нем при этом, потому что среди
анархистов — коммунистов, сейчас себя един-
ственным образом способной дать поддержку
идеям по укреплению наших вообще и по
работе в Музею в особенности? Больше инер-
тного Коммуна труднее себя представить. По-
тому более трех месяцев со дня, который,
для Коммуны не организован ни одна секция,
ни одного собрания для этой массы людей

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в Москве и в провинции; которая фактически
судит это наудовольствие от анархизма и по имени П.А.
Кропоткина был анархист. Я не однократно слы-
шу: "Кто если-то Петр Алексеевич был Кропоткин
был-то в свои руки управляет, слышишь-то во не-
бо прелестнейшая, живя в России пошла-
то иная." Этого коммуна по убавке вменяю
памяти П.А. Было давай-то это разделение
и если судить широкую пропаганду анархи-
за смотря на предположение правительств
анархистов, они все-таки не ринутся-то
разом, слышишь или слышишь в память П.А.
Вспомни-то, прошу даже могла фактически
назвать с именем Кропоткина. Вспомни-то
ни Шапиро, она пошла предположить об этом
по поводу этого неслыханного и бессмысленного
судья, влады. Да еще и беднее, и комму-
нистический.

Предположить, что коммуна и другие при-
каз, и по-прежнему кому вводить в дело активист-
скую или устроить другой коммуны. Но как-
только и об этом я говорила, я вернула
этот до неприличия и даже враждебное комму-
нистическое.

Еще и еще раз повторю, что кому работать
с этой группой товарищей, но она должна
быть в общей коммуны как секция. Допущен
быть в коммуны и другие ~~анархисты~~ анархисты,
которые Петр Алексеевич слышит товари-
щам, а также и угнетен, которыми зовутся

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Мамаша Петра Александровича как мирового человека.
Петр Александрович был великий сын своей
родины и в увлечении по мамаше и
уже пример для нас в том, что он был
красивее России. Душа, тогда гранича
дружбы и товариществу поименно мамаше в
духе увлечения мамаше Петра Алек-
сандровича Кротова. В этом духе, если
не ошибаюсь, сейчас же по увлечению
мамаше слова Николаевича Толстого.

Не знаю, дорогая Анна, о себе, о
всех и всего, что вы от нас слышите
быть. Я скоро приеду в Москву и сама
попытаюсь ответить.

Будьте здоровы, дорогой

Д. С. Насколько возможно, прошу с тем же
получить и передать по адресу в Москве
который находится в продовольственной
ваши наши товарищи. Прислаиваю гов-
рительность на посылку посылки.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930004

[Letter] 1921 June 5, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

14777

Moscow. June 5th. 1921

My dearest. Your letter of May 6th. sent direct by mail reached me yesterday. It was a great joy to hear from you again. So you had to cancel your trip. And I was with you at sea, thinking you had left the first. I had arranged with a friend who left here a month ago for England to cable you and also to have a long talk with you when you got to London. No doubt you have received the cable, also his address and that you have written him of the delay in your trip. He will be anxious why you do not come.

I think it was very wise to cancel your trip even if the play of O'Neil has a long run. Of course it will be a great disappointment if you had to give up the trip altogether. But one does not pick up \$175 per week very often. And in view of dear Teddys enforced unemployment for so long it will come handy to be able to get out of debts. However, I hope you will be able to go abroad if only late in the season, Sept. for instance is very nice for travel though London is anything but pleasant in the Fall. You must keep me posted, dearest, so I should know how to reach you at all times. Our own ~~xxxx~~ movements are so uncertain, we are unable to say anything what we will do or where we will go, at least for the present. But once our position is clear we want to be able to get in touch with you at once.

The thing which makes our plans so uncertain apart from the general uncertainty of life in R is a little accident which happened to S three weeks ago. He fell and hurt his foot, the same foot he hurt four years ago also in May. He has been laid up ever since unable to step on his foot. It is improving but very slowly, the physician think it will take a few weeks more. I certainly hope it will not take as long as it did in the fatal year of 1917, fatal for us in every respect. Of course, with Sasha temporary crippled we must delay all plans. Life here is one round of delay. Not so cheep and plentiful as time. I have learned patience I can tell you though some days it is bitter hard to put up with it. My longing at times is so intense, my yearning to be where I can again feel of some use to the world so great I can barely contain myself. Yet there is nothing to do but to wait.

Now it is a little more interesting, ~~many~~ delegates coming to the different congresses who look us up, Agness Smedley was to see us, a friend of Agnes Ingles from D. comes often. Some French anarcho, syndicalists. They all come, in fact we are never alone for a moment. And yet it feels so empty so insignificant since we ourselves are not a party to the life nor can we possibly be. Yes Bill H is here. What a terrible thing to have done, the captain leaving the ship. I can well imagine the bitterness of the boys who have to pay the price. It is a new move in the radical ranks of America for revolutionists to run and I confess I hate such tactics—they only discredit the radicals, besides making it impossible for all times to secure bail for those who would never stoop to such methods. It is another thing in European countries where the bail system does not exist. Well, Anreychin was never much of an hero. Besides his is not the position of a leader. It is different with B. His step will cause no end of harm to the organization. Yes, he was to see us once.

We see Bobbie Robbins often, he brought the electrical stove, alas I have no way of using it. I am letting a very dear communis friend of mine use it who lives in a soviet house is therefore not subject to the same ruling as we are, in private houses. Newton has also

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The Emma Goldman Papers

891214011

[Letter] 1921 June 6, Moscow [to] So[ph]ia [Kropotkin, Dmitrov? U.S.S.R.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 21 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Central State Archive of the October Revolution. Institutional Location: Peter Kropotkin Collection.

Moscow, June 6th, 1921

Dear Sofia:

I am taking this opportunity to send you word. First of all, about the house. The zamestitel of Kamenoff, Feldman, was seen, and he said that he will clear the house within a week, but we must first know what papers Comrade Lebedeff got from the Moscow Soviet and where those papers are. Please send this information as soon as possible.

Second: As concerns the box sent to you from the U.S., I intended to attend to the matter today. Unfortunately, I am laid up with a touch of dysentery, but it is not of a very serious nature, and in a day or two I shall go down to see about that food box. According to your directions, I shall distribute the food among our imprisoned comrades, from whom, incidentally, we just received another letter, in which they inform us that they are practically starving. You see there is quite a number of them now in the Taganka (17 persons in that prison alone), and the local comrades are simply not in a condition to supply them with sufficient provisions. It is a great task, but we are doing everything within our power and means. So, under these circumstances, you can readily understand how valuable and welcome your food contribution will be. I need not tell you how the imprisoned comrades will appreciate it. However, I want to suggest to you to keep for yourself the can of salad oil that the box contains (according to the printed receipt). You will no doubt need it badly yourself. The coffee I shall also keep for you.

Your last letter was duly received, and I shall turn it over to the next session of the Committee.

Affectionately,

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 July 12, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p.; 34 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Moscow. July 12th. 1921

12585

My own beloved child. I wrote you a letter a week ago. a few hours later I received yours of May 18th. I then took my letter back thinking I would write in answer to yours. Then the International trade union Congress opened which we have been attending all week that delayed my writing you. To day your dear letter of May 26th. arrived and as there is no session to day I decided not to wait another minute in writing you.

I can not tell you what a treat it is to have two letters from you, my best beloved within one week. In fact I had three letters from you dated May 10th 18th. and 26th. I am deeply grateful to you that you write more often than before now that letters go by post. One is so terribly cut off from home, every letter means so much. So you must keep on writing darling if only just family matters.

The other day I read a copy of the N Y Call, I think it was of June 3rd. It carried a review of Gold" on the whole a stupid review of the play. But it spoke highly of Teddys work. I am so glad. Usually Teddy had such insignificant parts one could judge his ability at all. I am so glad he is now able to show what he can do. I wonder what success the play itself has, whether it will have a long run. I hope it does, I am so anxious you should get on your feet again. Of course I am hungry to see you but one must learn patience. I think I have learned much of it since I am here. I am sure we will meet again and it is this thought which sustains me in the otherwise painful situation. I can't say I am very enthusiastic over the idea of Ians remaining in R when you go abroad. Of course, it will leave you free if you go without him. But it would be such a wonderful experience for the kid if he could make the trip. I hope you will take him I am just dying to see him.

I was told that nothing ~~one~~ of the Provincetown trip to Engl. Too bad. Our dear L O Ness has no luck. I'd give anything if she could get away from the grind and see her brother. He is heart broken over her silence. But I understand her only too well. Give her my deepest love. Tell her I met her friend with whom she spent her vacation last Summer. How people change when they become blind fanatics. She greets us at the Congress with a guilty smile. Why would she have to feel guilty if her ideas were based on knowledge and facts and not as they really are, mere repetitions of the popular craze? Her man is about the same. Hasnt been near us and when S spoke to him about ~~some~~ some grave matters he was not even interested. But then, they are really small people. The most amusing is the man whom you and F keep on sending love. He is in clover now, spouts about things he knows nothing about and plays altogether a very ridiculous part. I cant see for the life of me how you and F. do not see the impardonable sin the man has committed against his comrades by the step he has taken. It is bad enough for A. But for him it is as if a captain left a sinking ship with the whole crew on it. I can not reconcile myself to it.

I am supremely happy that Max actually sailed. We had a letter from him dated May 17th then yours of the 18th, But since he was to sail the 17th I could not get myself to believe it until I got yours of May 26th. Now I know for sure that Max has actually gone. Yes I can imagine it was bitter hard for Millie and Pipsie to let him go. Who knows when they will see him again, Pipsie who adores her father. But it is wonderful for Max. He was never more needed in Germany, never could he wish for a better field. The Syndicalists will grab him in a minute. They will find a wide field for articles on America. Lucky boy after all Max could not wish to see me more than I wish to see him. Over and over again in the most difficult and despairing moments I would say to myself if only M were here he would understand. It is not so hard now since S. has at last come to see things in their proper light. But it was bitter hard to go it all alone in the face of so many overwhelming events. I hope we will hear from Max now that he is in Germany. I am looking forward to his letter. I have written him the other day.

So glad you got the message from Chavele, I knew she would send you one when she gets to it. After all you have had lately it would be strange if you failed to understand. But I know you did not for a long time nor did I blame you. In yours of May 18th. you said you turned the message from Nicolay over to Max Why not to Dr C. Did he

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[Letter] 1921 July 12, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p.; 34 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

12586

not want to bring it in the R A S? Some one brought me a copy of the paper to day, the one which contains my articles about Peter and also one that contains an editorial. Why do people keep on writing and making statements about thing they know nothing about. Give the Doctor my best regards. Tell him one must be big enough to admit ones errors, even if it means giving up ones cherished belief. I know he has put much faith and belief in the lady of his heart. But he will learn to see that her beauty is of the kind of many beautiful women, lovely faces but no character.

It was unnecessary to send things through Max. We are selling our things as it is. Besides, so much has already been lost that I hate to think you are constantly investing your last few pennies on us. We were up to see about the stuff you sent through Dr D even met him there before he left R again. But nothing for us. My name does not even appear in the American lists. I received only his food package not the cloths. And Kropotkins has arrived but so far we have not been able to get it. However these are trifles, hardly worth bother about, except of course that you my darling spent so much money. Otherwise everything else fades in comparison with the tragic picture of Russia.

What a terrible thing about the Italian boys, the whole world seems to be a mad house the way people are driven and persecuted for their ideas. Keep me posted about the outcome of the trial though though one can easily foretell what it is going to be. The reactionary forces continue blind among the blind. They learn nothing from experience. Think of Mooney still being held after the whole world knows the frame up against him. It is dreadful that a lie should die so hard. But then all lies do, you know. I am glad J J is out at last, how many years did he serve I have really lost track. If you have a chance send him my congratulations and greetings. I suppose he will now work hard for his brother. But who will work for Mat? The dear boy does any one hear from him? I wish you would send him my affectionate greetings. And Caplan too. Poor boys they paid a heavy price all of them, largely do to our golden rule friend. I understand he has budded in again this time in the work of H A. Its awful to be possessed by the Christian bug Of course, I know Stef means well but his judgement is rotten.

Terribly sorry to learn of Dr Solotaroffs death. He was the first anarchist I heard thirty two years ago when I lived in New Haven and worked in a corset factory there. He was also a very devoted friend always. I saw little of him in late years but I always remembered him with affection. That brings me to my dear old lady. It is so awful to be dependent when one is old. I shiver when I think of it. I do hope your mother does not find it all too trying to look after our invalid lady. What seems to be the matter outside of old age? I am glad Mo is going to Reh, for his vacation it will relieve your mother a little. My love to the folks at home.

By the way dear, you must see our Doctor friend just as soon as this reached you. Tell him his brother is very hard pressed. He had hoped Kaffsky would let him have something but he shawd himself very petty. The Doctor must find a way to help his brother. R faces a terrible winter so he must find a way to releave his own at least.

I have received one of Ellen Kennens letter, also saw one she ought to a friend of hers. But I can not reply. Letter writing from here is shere torture. I do think of Ellen always affectionately. Her friends here have neither judgement nor understanding but I think she would understand. Give her my love and ask her to transmit my affections to Gertrude. It will certainly be an event to G to have her baby. I hope everything will pass off safely.

Dear old Juju, she is a faithful soul. I will have to send her a little gift. I forget when I sent my gifts along through H A. But I will find something soon. Give Juju my love tell her I miss her and think of her often. By the way, if you should happen to see Lucy R tell her Bob is alright and sends his love.

I have been disturbed a dozen times to day. Now it is two A M. Have been under great mental strain this week and most concerned about some matters. July 13th. Could not finish last night and now I must take this letter to my dear friend Angelica Balabanova she is to send it with some outgoing delegates. I will write again soon.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870708094

[Letter] 1921 July 12, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York (government transcript)] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 16 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Report Form No. 1

REPORT MADE BY: #1076	REPORT MADE Pittsburgh, Pa.	DATE 9/10/9/22
TITLE OF CASE AND SUBJECT MATTER In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al		1921

STATEMENT OF FACTS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ALIASES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

At New York, N. Y.

13452

The following is copy of a letter from Emma Goldman, recently received by her niece, Stella Comyn:

Moscow, July 12, 1921.

My own beloved child, I wrote you a letter a week ago. A few hours later I received yours of May 18th. I then took my letter back thinking I would write in answer to yours. Then the International Trade Union Congress opened which we have been attending all week, that delayed my writing you. Today your dear letter of May 26th arrived and as there is no session today I decided not to wait another minute in writing you.

I can not tell you what a treat it is to have two letters from you my best beloved within one week. In fact I had three letters from you dated May 10th, 18th and 26th. I am deeply grateful to you that you write more often than before, now that letters go by post. One is so terribly cut off from home every letter means so much. So you must keep on writing darling if only just family matters.

The other day I read a copy of the N. Y. Unit. I think it was of June 3rd. It carried a review of "BODEN" on the whole a stupid review of the play. But it spoke highly of Teddy's work. I am so glad. Usually Teddy has such insignificant parts one could not judge his ability at all. I am so anxious you should get on your feet again. Of course I am hungry to see you but one must learn patience. I think I have learned much of it since I am here. I am sure we will meet again and it is this thought which sustains me in the otherwise painful situation. I can't say I am very enthusiastic over the idea of Lane remaining in R when you go abroad. Of course, it will leave you free if you go without him. But it would be such a wonderful experience for the kid if he would make the trip. I hope you will take him I am just dying to see him.

I was told that nothing came of the first attempt to get to Berlin. Too bad. But don't let her see me. I'd give anything if she could get away from the grind and see her brother. He is heart broken over her misdeeds. But I understand her only too well. Give her my deepest love. Tell I met her friend with whom she spent her vacation last at

OF PUBLISHED BY:

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870708094

[Letter] 1921 July 12, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York (government transcript)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 16 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Standard Form No. 6

Page 2

9/10:9/22-1921

In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al

the Congress with a guilty smile. Why should she have to feel guilty if her ideas were based on knowledge and facts and not as they really are, mere repetitions of the popular craze? Her man is about the same. Hasn't been near us and when S spoke to him about some grave matters he was not even interested. But then, they are really small people. The most amusing is the man whom you and F keep on sending love. He is in clover now, spouts about things he knows nothing about and plays altogether a very ridiculous part. I can't see for the life of me how you and F do not see the unpardonable sin that man has committed against his comrades by the step he has taken. It is bad enough for G. A. But for him. It is as if a captain left a sinking ship with the whole crew on it. I can not reconcile myself to it.

I am supremely happy that Max actually sailed. We had a letter from him dated May 17th then yours of the 18th, but since he was to sail the 19th I could not get myself to believe it until I got yours of May 26th. Now I know for sure that Max has actually gone. Yes I can imagine it was bitter hard for Millie and Pipsie to let him go. Who knows when they will see him again, Pipsie who adores her father. But it is wonderful for Max. He was never more needed in Germany, never could he wish for a better field. The Syndicalists will grab him in a minute. Then he will find a wide field for articles on America. Lucky boy after all Max could not wish to see me more than I wish to see him, over and over again in the most difficult and despairing moments I would say to myself if only K were here he would understand. It is not so hard now since S has at last come to see things in their proper light. But it was bitter hard to go it all alone in the face of so many overwhelming events. I hope we will hear from Max now that he is in Germany. I am looking forward to his letter. I have written him the other day.

So glad you got the message from Chavelle I knew she would send you one when she gets to it. After all you know you did not for a long time nor did I blame you. In yours of May 18th you said you turned the message from Nicolay over to Max why not to Dr. C. Did he not want to bring it in the RAS? Some one brought me a copy of the paper today, the one which contains an editorial. Why do people keep on writing and making statements about things they know nothing about. Give the Doctor my best regards. Tell him one must be big enough to admit one's errors, even if it means giving up one's cherished belief. I know he has put much faith and belief in the lady of his heart. But he will learn to see that her beauty is of the kind of many beautiful women, lovely faces but no character.

It was unnecessary to send things through Max. We are selling our things as it is. Besides, so much has already been lost that I hate to think you are constantly investing your last few pennies on us. We were up to see about the stuff you sent through Dr. D. even met him there before he left it again. But nothing for us. My name does not even appear in the American lists. S received only his food package not the cloths. And Kropotkin's has arrived but so far we have not been able to get it. However, these are trifles, hardly worth bothering about, except of course that you my darling spent so much money. Otherwise everything else fades in comparison with the tragic picture of Russia.

What a terrible thing about the Italian boys, the

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 July 12, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York (government transcript)] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 25 × 16 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Page 3

9/10:0/22;-1921

In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al

13454

whole world seems to be a mad house the way people are driven and prosecuted for their ideas. Keep me posted about the outcome of the trial, although one can easily foretell what it is going to be. The reactionary forces continue blind among the blind. They learn nothing from experience. Think of Mooney still being held after the whole world knows the frame up against him. It is dreadful that a life should die so hard. But then all lies do you know. I am glad J J is out at last, how many years did he serve. I have lost track. If you have a chance send him my congratulations and greetings. I suppose he will now work hard for his brother. But who will work for Mat? The dear boy does any one hear from him? I wish you would send him my affectionate greetings. And Caplan too. Poor boys they paid a heavy price all of them, largely due to our golden rule friend. I understand he has budded in again this time in the work of H. A. It's awful to be possessed by the Christian bug. Of course, I know Stef means well but his judgment is rotten.

Terribly sorry to learn of Dr. Solotaroff's death. He was the first anarchist I heard thirty two years ago when I lived in New Haven and worked in a corset factory there. He was also a very devoted friend always. I saw little of him in late years but I always remembered him with affection. That brings me to my dear old lady. It is so awful to be dependent when one is old. I shiver when I think of it. I do hope your mother does not find it all too trying to look after our invalid lady. What seems to be the matter outside of old age? I am glad he is going to Ach, for his vacation it will relieve your mother a little. My love to the folks at home.

By the way dear, you must see our Doctor friend just as soon as this reaches you. Tell him his brother is very hard pressed. He had hoped Malofsky would let him have something but he showed himself very petty. The Doctor must find a way to relieve his own at least.

I have received one of Ellen Kallen's letter, also saw one she sent to a friend of hers. But I can not reply. Letter writing from here is sheer torture. I do think of Ellen always affectionately. Her friends here have neither judgment nor understanding but I think she would understand. Give her my love and ask her to transmit my affections to Gertrude. It will certainly be an event to see her baby. I hope every thing will pass off safely.

Dear old Juju, she is a faithful soul. I will have to send her a little gift. I forgot when I sent my gift along through A.A. but I will find something soon. Give Juju my love tell her I miss her and think of her often. By the way if you should happen to see Lucy tell her Bob is alright and sends his love.

I have been disturbed a dozen times today. Now it is two A.M. have been under great mental strain this week and most concerned about some matters. July 18th. Could not finish last night and now I must take this letter to my dear friend Angelica Balabanova she is to send it with some outgoing delegates. I will write again soon."

In this letter many fictitious names are used and

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 192[1] July 23, Moscow [to] Carl [Newlander, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 14 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6081

Moscow July 23rd. 1923

Dear Carl. Please read the inclosed letter to Stella, that will save my writing you the same things. I am asking the Swedish friends from the Syndicalist. They are taking this along to send you their paper with the report on the situation in Sweden. I think they will give a faithful account, they are among the few who are quite clear as to their position. I am also asking Matson whom you may know from America to write you at length, he can give you all the details.

Well, dear boy, I am looking forward to seeing you though I have no idea when this is to be. I only hope it will not be as long as we have already been here. It's almost beyond my strength to stand the situation here in silence. Yet think as I may I see no way for any kind of work in R. at the present time at least.

We have not heard from you for a long time. How are you If you are not far from Stockholm, why not run in to see Matson and Severine, the editor of the Syndicalist, they will have much to tell you.

Max Baginski is in Germany now. Write him. ~~Mirbach~~ Mirbach strasse, 23, III. Berlin. I know he will be glad to hear from you.

Affectionately

Dearest Carl
July 23rd 1923
Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870930003

[Letter, 1921 July 23, Moscow to Carl Newlander, Stockholm, Sweden (enclosure; fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

14776

Moscow. July 12th. 1921

My own beloved child. I wrote you a letter a week ago. a few hours later I received yours of May 18th. I then took my letter back thinking I would write in answer to yours. Then the International trade union Congress opened which we have been attending all week that delayed my writing you. To day your dear letter of May 26th. arrived and as there is no session to day I decided not to wait another minute in writing you.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Aug. 17, Moscow [to] Agnes [Inglis], Detroit, [Mich.] / E[mma Goldman].— 1 p.; 29 x 22 cm.

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Moscow August 17th. 1921

My dear Agnes. If I could have written you as often as I wanted to, you would have received many letters. As it is you will have to take the word for the deed. You remember my visit to Mo. We used to think it terribly hard to write from there. I would give anything now if I had as much freedom of expression, or if I were as able to write as I have been then. Since I came here I have learned to understand that there is no human misery which may not find its counterpart, although I realize that the misery of mind and spirit in fetters is the greatest of all.

Ah, dearest girl. How we used to dream of the wonderful thing come true in Russia. But like all dreams there is an awakening which is hard to bear even for the strongest of us. One could not bear it if one did not know that other dreams will come and that the ideal must always remain real. Do I speak in riddles? If so Cass will explain many things. He is fortunate in being of simple mind like the child, it sees much quicker than the sophisticated. Cass is among the few foreigners who grasp matters singularly quick. He made a brave and strong fight. But what can the layman do against the fathers of the church? He will tell you many things. I urge that you listen patiently and that you heed what he has to say. You remember my saying that the love which sees is a tragic love. But it is the only love worth while. So if we will love Russia we must cease to be blind among the blind.

~~Excuse my letter to you. I have been so busy that I have not had time to write to you.~~ I long so much for the olden time when we could walk and talk and plan and work together. It seems so far away. Sometimes I think I will never again be able to walk. I feel so paralysed. Yet one must hope and plan. Out of the ruins, out of all that is crushed and shattered must come new life.

Dear girl, I feel too depressed to write much to night. This is only a greeting anyway. Just to let you know I have not forgotten you. How are you my dear? And our mutual friends in Detroit? Remember me to all. Send my greetings to the Keefers. I am sorry I could not comply with his request to write. It was and is impossible, I have not forgotten them as indeed I think of all my friends. It is the only thing I can do here is to think of all that was and is and is going to be. Do you ever hear from Ben R? If you write him send him my greetings. I wonder how he is.

I have not heard from Stella in three months. I am so uneasy. I can not understand why she does not write. Perhaps you will send her this letter. I want her to know that I have written her many, many times and so anxious to hear from her. Also please send the inclosed to the party addressed, it is very urgent.

Some body brought me a lot of American papers so I will read now, it brings me closer to you all and to my past.

I embrace you affectionately

Emma Goldman.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921062

[Letter] 1921 Aug. 17, Moscow [to] Agnes [Inglis], Detroit, [Mich.] / E[mma Goldman].— p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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12587

Moscow August 17th 1921

My dear Agnes. If I could have written you as often as I wanted to, you would have received many letters. As it is you will have to take the word for the deed. You remember my visit to Mo. We used to think it terrible hard to write from there. I would give anything now if I had as much freedom of expression, or if I were as able to write as I have been then. Since I came here I have learned to understand that there is no human misery which may not find its counterpart, altho I realize that the misery of mind and spirit, in fetters, is the greatest of all.

Ah, dearest girl. How we used to dream of the wonderful thing come true in Russia. But like all dreams there is an awakening which is hard to bear even for the strongest of us. One could not bear it if one did not know that other dreams will come and that the ideal must always remain real. Do I speak in riddles? If so Cass will explain many things. He is fortunate in being of simple mind like a child, it sees much quicker than the sophisticated. Cass is among the few foreigners who grasp matters singularly quick. He made a brave and strong fight. But what can the layman do against the fathers of the church? He will tell you many things. I urge that you listen patiently and that you heed what he has to say. You remember my saying that the love that sees is a tragic love. But it is the only love worth while. So if we will love Russia we must cease to be blind among the blind.

~~I have been so blind that I have not seen the light of day.~~
I long so much for the olden time when we could walk and talk and plan and work together. It seems so far away. Sometimes I think I will never again be able to work. I feel so paralyzed. Yet one must hope and plan. Out of the ruins, out of all that is crushed and shattered, must come new life. Dear girl, I feel too depressed to write much tonight. This is only a greeting anyway. Just to let you know I have not forgotten you. How are you my dear? And our mutual friends in Detroit? Send my greetings to the Kieffers. I am sorry I could not comply with his request to write. It was and is impossible. I have not forgotten them. As indeed I think of all my friends. It is the only thing I can do here, think of all that was and is and is going to be. Do you ever hear from Ben R? If you write him send him my greetings. I wonder how he is.

I have not heard from Stella in three months. I am so uneasy. I cannot understand why she does not write. Perhaps you will send her this letter. I want her to know that I have written her many, many times and am so anxious to hear from her. Also please send the inclosed to the party addressed, it is very urgent.

Somebody brought me a lot of American papers so I will read now. it brings me closer to you all and to my past.

I embrace you affectionately.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Sept. 21, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Moscow September 21st. 1921

My dearest, After a painful waiting for four months I got two letters from you to day addressed to Shapiro. I was in despair, could not explain why you would have done so. I searched every American paper I could lay my hands on to see if Gold was being advertised anywhere. But nowhere a sign. Meanwhile I wrote you I do not know how many letters all of which have been lost. Well, now that you have started to send me letters again I hope these will not be such a long time. As I have repeatedly written you, your letters are the only thing that keep me going. By the way, you can write me to several addresses. The quickest to reach me will be the following, Mr L Collas, English Consulate, Riga. Of course, you will inclose your letter in a second envelope so that my name appears nowhere on the outside. Mr Collas is the brother in law of our very dear friend Alexandra Timofeevna Shakol. He and his wife reside in Riga, but he works here with the English Mission. He kindly consented to have your letter addressed to him. He will bring it to me as he goes back and forth all the time. Besides that you can again address us at Shostakovitch's finally also to our own landlady, Mrs Oana Abramovna Vidrin. Leonofsky 26. Apartment 38. Moscow We have Sasha Kropotkins rooms with the Vidrins. By writing to several addresses I will not have to wait so long for word from you.

There is so much in your letters I would like to take up but I have not the spirit now to do so. I can not tell you how terribly distressed I feel that my old lady has lived to become such a burden, she was such a selfreliant person and so active all her life. And now. It is awful. Yet there is nothing to do but to endure. I only hope I will never live to be a burden on anyone. That is the one thing I could not put up with. It is good of my old lady that she has money for me. But I could not possibly accept anything from her, she will need every cent she has for herself.

I am terribly sorry that you had such hard Summer and that you are so hard pressed. I hope matters will pick up and that Teddy will find something to do. It is too bad that you had to miss your European trip but as far as I am concerned it is as well since I was not able to meet you anywhere. Patience does not run in our family but I have learned some the last few years. A few years ago about this time I looked forward eagerly to our release from Jefferson. And now. One learns to bury one's hopes and to wait.

Poor dear, you seem distressed because of what people write about me. You really should not let this worry you. I really pity the people who are so concerned about me. It is more fundamental to write about R than the superficial stuff L B, or K have written. I am particularly surprised at L. After all she should have had something more vital to say about us. She pretended at least, that she understood our mental struggle. Not that I ever considered her very profound but it seemed that her own great loss and tragedy had made her capable of understanding. Well, what does it matter? What does anything matter as compared to the tragedy of the Russian Revolution? As to K, he is a fool, his stuff is rot. Until my own voice will be heard you will have to put up with the stuff you read and not worry about it. How different is H A if any man could write it is he, he more than any one witnessed my struggle. But he is too decent to make capital out of it. By the way dear the things I gave him for you will never be lost. He is probably waiting for a dependable person to send the things with as they are too valuable to be sent by mail. I am certain you will get them in due time

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[Letter] 1921 Sept. 21, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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I last received the order for Kropotkin's parcel. They have been unable to trace. But they promised faithfully to hunt for them. They have a large box containing clothing packages for Kropotkin, so far they have refused to open that box as they had no invoice for it. But to day they said they would open it to find our clothes packages. As to my food parcel, no one's name does not appear on any of the lists. You never mentioned before that it was not the uniform kind sent to everybody. Well, I am to be at the office again Friday. Perhaps something will be found. I hope so.

Speaking of interviews, just had a representative of the United Press. A young boy who has been away from America for 3 and half years. As green as they make him. I told him I have made it a rule to give no interview, (not for the idiotic reasons Kacera mentions) His story is not only idiotic it is false, no one so far has suffered for what I said, nor was there any reason for me to fear death. Why must people lie so? Well I gave the boy a very short interview. But what he will write is another matter. Besides I do not care.

I am so glad about G. I never really believed the ugly story, but I know how such things stick. That is why I am so anxious to have him cleared. Had dear Phil taken up the matter. Yes Sarah is gossipy. Unfortunately you find this miserable trait everywhere. Such people are liable to swear ones life away. I do hope G will come out alright from the mess.

No I have not heard from Max. Can not understand why he does not write. Ask Millie to write him that I am dreadfully anxious to hear from him. I can well imagine Max to be disappointed. Even at best he is not one to fit into prisons, any more than I can fit into them. But Max has a wild idea to write on American affairs. I hope he will take root. I know how wild it seems to be utterly out of ones soil.

Dearest it does you justice to defend our Fitzie. I have never blamed her. In fact I love Fitzie S for nearly a year on the matter. Now we do not talk about it at all. Yes S is unreasonable. But on the other hand I had to be so forbearant in view of the terrible mental agony I had endured. My dearest will you never realize that we have been put to the most terrible test of our life? However, I do not wish to blame F, I know how stinging S can be.

I do not consider this a full reply to your letters. I will write again soon. I am so sorry you suffered so much from ivy poison, how well I remember our siege so many years ago. I hope the Winter may prove more restful for you my darling than the Summer has been. Your son is a wonder. Hug him for me. You look splendid on the snap with Teddy. Dear old Mo, I am glad he is happy. Much, much love to him. Love to the R folk, to Ellen Y and Agnes Ingles I sent her a message through a friend of hers. Agnes S has left you will hear from her no doubt.

I take you in my arms and kiss you tenderly.

My deepest love to dear P. Yes, she has had strenuous years since she came to us but I am sure they have enriched her life. With affectionate greetings to all, love to Teddy. Sasha sends your love.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1921 Oct.? Moscow to] Bessie [Kimmelman?, New York?] / E[mma Goldman].— 1 p.; 21 × 27 cm.

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Not my hand

Dear Bessie Please take
this to Harry he will
give the letter to Sam
I am very tired.
Much love.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870921064

[Letter] 1921 Oct. 1, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. —
5 p.; 28 x 21 cm.
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12590

Moscow October 1st. 1921.

My own, my best beloved child.

After three months of anxious waiting I was made very rich. Received your three letters, all within ten days. Two, July 12th and August 25th came to Shariros address, the one of Aug. 12th to the foreign office came only two days ago. You can see for yourself that the ordinary way, by post arrives quicker and safer, so you must from now on keep writing to Shariros. Copies of the same letter you might also send direct to our home address, Rosa A Vidrin. Leontofsky pereulok. 26. Kvartira. 36. Moscow.

You say you the saying, it never rains but what it pours. Well, we got not only your dear letters but also the parcels. Yes, they finally came, all the three of them. That is they were here all the time but the "remarkable year" which prevails every where delayed our getting the parcels all this time. Truth is, we would still be waiting for them if not for a chap who works in the warehouse and who took it upon himself to make a search for our stuff. It was he who located the parcels and who notified us right away. Wednesday of the week we brought them home in triumph. It was some excitement when Sasha discovered his cigarettes and suit not to speak of the other things. And I, Darling, precious, it is no wonder you have been so hard pressed. You spent so much money on us when you should have used it yourself. I dare not think what these two dreadful years would have been without you to depend upon for devotion and help. Of course, we have many friends and comrades. Most of them have not even written let alone concerned themselves in our welfare. Only you my own have stuck faithfully. You can not imagine how much you have helped me.

Now as to the parcels, they came in splendid condition. The food box contained everything in your list except the pancake flour. Perhaps you forgot to put it in at the last moment. Otherwise the box represents a mint. Many, many people will be made happy with some of the things they have not tasted in four years. Chocolates for instance, the people are positively crazy for it. Nothing you can give them means quite so much as chocolates. They have gone ~~some~~ without sweets so long that they have become like drunkards for liquor, they tremble when they see chocolates, not only children but grown people, men even. And then the other tasty things you sent. I made a little party the first evening the box arrived for Dora, Ethel, Yanya, her husband and my dear land lady and her children. I almost forgot I was in Russia, everybody was so gay. Think of it all because of a few delicacies. I could have wept tears of gratitude to you my own, because you enable me to play lady beautiful.

Again I repeat it never rains but it pours. The day after I got your parcels I received a big box from our Riga friend Nicolai. It came very handy for our people who are in different "healing places". They are so starved. That has been the only work we could do supply them. It was not always easy. Then, the other day one of Rs most uncompromising and most heroic woman left the "hospital" very broken. I was so happy to be able to send her part of the provisions and some of the clothing you sent. I know you too will be glad to have been of help to this marvelous creature. . . . The clothes parcels contained even more than your list called for, a skirt, waist and other things. As I did not know for whom they were intended I sent them to ~~her~~ she is . . .

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Oct. 1, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
5 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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12591

literally naked. There was only one apron marked for Dora I gave her that. My dress is a beaut, only so wrinkled, it almost looks like no. Dear Vaislie Simonoff is quite a tailor he will press it for me. Then the gorgeous veil and the hose. The latter especially will save my life. I suffer so much with cold in my feet. In fact everything you sent is great and so useful, except the tape measures, what am I to do with them? Only centimetres are used here. Your list calls for a pair of shoes, there were none in my packs o. But Shashka's stash contains a pair. Perhaps you had them in mind. I certainly needed a suit. Ever since he was robbed he has been wearing his one suit, it looks quite shabby and the trousers were beginning to tear, so he is very pleased with his new clothes. The rubbers too came handy now, to day we gave away several pairs. And I needed a pair so badly. Altogether the parcel arrived most opportune. However, in my pleasure over the things I can not free myself from the feeling of guilt because you my dearest had to scrimp and save and do without many things for my sake. I can only hope that conditions will improve and that both you and Teddy will soon be on your feet again.

I can well imagine how hard the turn must have been for you and Teddy. At best none of us are used to be with relatives. And with my old lady screening Gervais it must indeed have been awful. I am terribly sorry that she has become such a burden. I can not imagine anything more awful than that. But perhaps she ought not to be humored so much. I wish I could relieve your mother a little, poor dear, she is left to carry the burden for all of us. We should have been a bit firm with the old lady, she never was a fool, surely she can be made to understand that one does not die from a bit of pain in the shoulder, what one must consider your mother a little bit. But then, who is not a very fair is he? It looks fine on the ship, so does your mother and the kid. But my old lady really looks old and feeble. Dear, dear child you must have suffered torture with this new attack of ivy poison. Indeed, I still remember that summer on Hunters Island. It was fierce. And yet, how innocent and pure we were like babes in the woods. I would have given anything for my fifth and home of that period.

Dearest, why should you worry that people write about me? What difference does it make after all? Here and there I come to believe that no one hurts the other fellow with misrepresentation quite so much as he hurts himself. Take that fool Kucera, so many ridiculous stories have been written about Russia that his stuff can neither add nor can it detract anything. It is all so stupidly written, it makes no impression whatever. As to L. B., she is simply superficial. As I wrote in my last letter, I had hoped her great loss and the contact with the still greater loss of Emma's Russian hope would have deepened her. Well, it has not. Some people can't help the thickness of their hide. The most tremendous cataclysms pass them by. L. B. is among those people. Well, let her. It really can not hurt me. Please do not worry about it or about anything credited to me. I have given no interviews and I do not intend to give any. Not because I am afraid, but because the tragedy of Russia is too colossal for reportorial work. It has to be recorded by those who themselves have become part of that tragedy, it has to be written with one's blood. So far no one has even remotely come near doing it. I do not mean to say that I might succeed. But if I fail it will be due to lack of ability and not lack of knowledge or understanding. Reporters like L. B., Kucera, or even abler than they

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[Letter] 1921 Oct. 1, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. —
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12592

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have lacked both knowledge and understanding, hence the superficial nonsense so far written for or against Russia. At any rate you must not worry darling. Some day I will speak for myself untill then you and those who know me must have patience and faith. One thing I can tell you right now the two years of mental agony of soul torture have not been in vain. I would not have missed them for anything.

You are mistaken dearest I did not blame the Doctor. I know full well that it is not easy to swim against the tide. Besides, the Savvas are very scarce. The mob continues to believe in the image after it has been exploded by the Savvas, the mob can not live without an image no matter how false. No, I did not blame the Doctor. I was in patient with him only because he seemed to have failed in conveying my message to you. At least, I gathered that from your letters which followed his arrival. As to the continued notion that one may not disclose the family skeleton. I no longer believe in that. The skeleton begins to decompose and is infecting the whole family. It is false shame to allow the dead to poison the living. . . By the way, did you tell the Doc about his brother? He is heart broken that the Doc has failed to write. Fortunately the brother is now getting on his feet. With private trade and private undertaking again in their old position the brother of our Doctor is well able to take care of his family. Bit for a time they were very hard pressed. Anyhow the Doc ought at least to write a line. Get after him. Tomorrow we are invited to the house of the brother for Roshashona supper. I know he will again ask for news from America.

Yes, a number of people we know are here but we have not seen them. Rose Strinskys husband is to come tomorrow, he called up asking when he might come. I do not think George Seldes has arrived though he may have. Unless he will look us up he will not see him as we have made it our rule never to run after anybody. There are many reasons for it as you might well guess. I understand Hillman is here. But we have not seen him. Why should we. I never cared for him while at home. The ordinary labor leader. A little while ago I was called up by our dear friend Angelica B. and who do you suppose was at her place? Eades Howe. Of all the freaks who come to Russia. What can a man like he get out of her sufferings? He asked to see us. He may call to night.

So B R wants to come here. To tell the truth, I expected as much long ago. It seemed strange that such an adventurer should keep away so long. But what on Earth does he want here? Without the language without anything that would bring him near the soul of R? He ought to be told that he may find it extremely difficult to get in and still more difficult to get out unless he comes here in some public capacity. No danger of him doing mischief while here. Gott sorgt dafuer dass die Baume nicht in den Himmel wachsen. He may however do mischief afterwards. Well lets hope his papers will not be renewed. You did well not to send him any money for me. If he is so concerned, why not send me some himself? Surely, if he has means to make the trip, he could have spared some for me. Not that I want it or would accept it. In his case it was always more pleasant to give than to receive. But why ask you to send money through him. But it is like B R. Besides, we need no money, we still have many things we can sell, especially now when selling and buying is "legal". I think I told you that H A left Sasha all his clothes, we have been living on that ever since. Then we recieved so much from our Swedish comrades, from England, from Riga and the big box you sent Sasha. Besides that many comrades going South or to the

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870921064

[Letter] 1921 Oct. 1, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—

5 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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12593

Caucasus take some things along and in exchange bring flour, lard and other food stuffs. You see it's "legal" since last March. There is some thing awfully funny about legality that is if one still has ones sense of humor.

No, we have not wanted anything in the way of physical food. And spiritual food can neither be decreed nor can it be bought. It is the one thing which one can find only in freedom or not at all. No, our appeal has had no effect. We did not expect it would. But there are moments when one must not keep silent. Otherwise the merry go round keep busy and ~~as~~ those who can not stand the mad pace must hold on to the one and only true principle so prevalent among the common folk at home namely, "the only good Indian is a dead Indian"

Eades Howe has just been here. And such infants come to study Russia. It is to weep. He'll be here a week he said. You can imagine what he will not know. With some people ignorance is always bliss. He hopes to get up to the famine district. I am begging t' think that that wee begotten part of Russia is serving as food for all sorts of sensationists, newspapers especially usually thrive on the misery and woe of mankind. Dearest, dearest, can you imagine how I should love to be of some use to the famine stricken district. But there is no such thing as nonpartisan work. . . . I wish I could make you understand. .

I am terribly glad about L. G. I have always liked him. I never would have paid attention to the gossip if it had not been for Sasha K. who was about to link herself up with Laxx L. G. The old mans name is too sacred to me to permit any slur upon it. I wanted G to be absolutely clear of the accusation first. You see, Sasha has great faith in my judgment thats why she wrote to me about her interest in G. This by the way is between ourselves. I hope you will send me Fitzies findings in the case. I am very anxious to have it.

I can not understand why H. A. has not forwarded the things to you. He did say he would send it only if he can find a reliable person as things do so easily get lost if sent by mail. I am sure you will get it because he is so dependable. I do hope Max has looked him up. He is so honest and sincere and so unassuming. I think Max would like him. Yes, his first article was very good. The others did not appear because of the old buddinsky, Golden Rule man. The one who butchered up the Mc, Namara case.

So Max received my letter. I wonder why he does not write. I am so eager to hear from him and letters do come by mail from Gern many. But then Max never was much of a letter writer. I long to see him of course But have no idea when th t will be. So he is disillusioned?

That was to be expected. Distance always lands enchantment. No one knows it better than we. Still, H should find more than one field for work. There are ever so many channels of expression there.

Dear old Fitz needs no defence as far as I am concerned. I know how harsh our boy can be. But I also know what mental agony he has gone through here, especially until last March when things appeared in different light to him than to me. He felt terribly alone and missed F. desperately. It is a little better now because he has come to estimate things at their right value, he would hate awfully if any one were to tell him he came to a take my point of view. Still, he misses F very much. But he has always been a stubborn mule. No one suffers more for it than he. Give F my deepest love. Tell her that one pays heavily for ones real experience in life. She has had exciting seven years, but she need not regret them. She was a very innoc

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870921064

[Letter] 1921 Oct. 1, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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ent child when she came to us but got into an interesting and worth while time now. Doesn't she think it was worth it? 12594

Arnos In 1908 will have had news by this time from one of her own boys. He attended the trade union congress. He is a bit too talky but he is very honest and he has some guts. He may have looked you up if he went by way of N Y if not he will write you. Yes, I knew Jake was disbarred but I did not know he was in business. Send him my love. Tell him I often think of him and of our correspondence while I was in Jefferson. Tell him he was right and I was wrong. Confession is good for the soul.

I have seen no more of the Provincetown lady. As to her man He has got the Billy Sunday obsession. He wrote a letter trying to call him to the folds of the only true church. Poor boy, he has as blind as a bat. Added to his physical deafness he now suffers from mental deafness. He can no longer distinguish ~~black~~ ~~color~~ color or sound. But he is a fine lady, he has changed so many times, he will change some more.

If Aline goes abroad again soon let her send her address to Max I may want to reach her in the near future. Give her my love. I think of her often and of sugar top. She must be quite a girl.

Dearest mine, I have written you a whole pile yet nothing like what I would want to write. If ever we two will meet again we will have to make up for all the time of longing, waiting and hoping. When shall that great moment be? I thought of you so passionately this week. Two years ago you were in Jefferson City and I was counting the minutes. You are far away but I keep on counting. It is a year to day since Sadie was released.

Good night my own. I hold you very close and kiss you tenderly. Much, much love to our beautiful baby littleman. So he peeped out of a little window six years ago. Six years. It hardly seems possible. The whole world has been turned upside down during this time. Yet the old disorder goes on everywhere.

When you write Winnie send her my love. I have not heard from her. I am glad she at least has saved her happiness out of the ruins of her family. How is Agnes and his family? Love to all the R. folk? Love to Ellen Kennon, I have wished so much to see her. She would have grasped much deeper than I. ~~the great man that is our~~ who can not become a cog in the machine. Arnos Bradley is among the finest types of American girls I have met. He will look you up when she returns. Get close to her. So Fiddle is to become a mother and Gertrude. It seems the business of Margaret Sanger does not succeed quite so well with all the new babies coming into the world. Remember me to all our friends

Gratefully and devotedly.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Oct. 17, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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Moscow October 17th. 1921

My dearest One.

I have another chance to send you a letter with some one dependable. I wrote you about two weeks ago through the same friend. Then sent copies of the same letter registered and by ordinary mail. Hope they have all reached you. Sasha also wrote, to F. one copy of his letter I am inclosing herewith. All you say about him in relation to F. is only too true. If ever there was a man who has the capacity of killing the thing he loves it is he. Yet strange to say he is being loved just the same. No one ever received as much devotion and no one took it as so much matter of fact. It is amazing how enslaving suffering is. I do not think anyone of us would have put up with as much from S. if not of his terrible fourteen years. I know it from my own experience. Often when I feel I can stand it no longer, the Western Penitentiary looms up as black as night and all else is forgotten. The time here ~~xxxxxxx~~ is also helping to strengthen the hold misery has on one. S. like myself is going through a soul struggle which only those who can not and will not compromise can understand. That is why I have been a bit impatient with F. for not writing S. But I understand her only too well and I love her too much to be angry with her. S. is in Petrograd for a few days, he is returning with our dear friend Alexandra Timofeevna Shokol, the only real friend we have made here.

The city swarms with Americans but we see no one. Most of the Americans are people I never would have turned the corner to meet while at home. Much less would I want to meet them here. And the few so called friends have got "religion" so bad, they would without hesitation hang everyone who has not grown so blind deaf and dumb as they. I have already said misery and suffering are by far more enslaving than joy. No wonder Nietzsche saw in the Christian religion such an enslaving factor. With its so-called pity it enslaves and degrades everything. Take the dreadful conditions on the Volga, it has become a bait for all sorts of politicians and careerists. It matters little who the politician is the famine only serves as an excuse for most of those who are making capital out of it. The famine stricken will be the last to benefit, or will benefit only very little. For the rest, the famine is another link in the chain of enslavement by pity. Perhaps if I would not see through it all I might be able to work with the relief people. For my own peace of mind I wish I would not see. As it is I can not hitch up with them, I simply can not.

Every day we mean to apply for the right to go abroad but so far we have not gotten ourselves to do it, for reasons best not discussed. One of these days we may do it after all. For the present we keep a "watchful" waiting which is not very easy as you can well imagine. You say it must be less difficult to go from and come to R. That depends upon the one who wants to go or come. For some it remains as difficult, others again can not get themselves to apply. . . . One must learn patience, I have learned though it was and is bitter hard.

I can see by the American papers which I see occasionally, that times are terribly hard at home. Funny, but people are always more willing to do charity in China than at their next door. Not that I object to helping China. But it makes me sick to read that Miss Lathope had to give up her work of research for American babies when America boats of feeding so many European babies. The same hypocrisy everywhere. I am very anxious about you, my darling. In these bitter hard times you will probably not be able to find employment. If only Teddy were engaged in some worth while play. I hope with all my heart

we shall be able to weep. Life is indeed a circle and the mass

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Oct. 17, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 30 × 22 cm.

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2

will not have to fret so this Winter. If we have to remain here longer we will probably work with the Museum of the Revolution. In any case, nothing can be done for the K museum now. One can grow "rich" now in private lessons in English and nursing. So if all else falls flat we will do that. Fine spiritual occupation for people who all their lives longed to be a part in the Revolution, isn't it? However it is better to earn ones living and retain ones spirit than to lose ones self respect and be engaged in some public work. . . .

Lucy R sent us the report of the F of L Convention. Lucy's speech is an example of the corruption in politics. It made me sick to read her eulogy of Gompers. It certainly did not take her long to become a first class lickspittle. To become that seems to be the easiest thing in the world for most people. Look at G. A. the old war horse and others of their caliber. When I read Ganett's article in the L. I had the same nauseating feeling as when I read Lucy R's speech. The difference is only in the spit not in the licking. It is disgusting. And the mass goes on being hoodwinked. Darling, darling, reality is an awful thing and those who can not adjust their ideals to reality must pay. Yet who would want to forswear ones ideal? It is the only thing worth living for after all.

I had a letter from a woman whom I met 18 years ago, she is now in Paris and wants to come here for medical help. I have not replied. I could not be of any assistance to her in the first place, then I do not feel justified in recommending any one I met so long ago. I suppose she will get in anyway, they all manage somehow, though G S has evidently not yet managed. I can not imagine why, if young Pulitzer was admitted why not G S.? As I said, I know little about the American outfit now infesting poor R.

Have not yet heard from Alvina N, I suppose she will write. By the way, how is Edvina? I often mean to ask about her and forget. Give her my love. I hate to write letters now else I would have written Ellen Kennen. I think of her often. I suppose she is being fed up on the legends of L B. Poor L B, she has to play her part so you must not be impatient with her. And sweetheart mine, do not take it to heart so that I am being taken as copy. It really wants hurt me and if it helps to buy the Kuceras or the B a meal, why worry. I feel much more that these scribes feed on the credulity of the people than that they use my name. Give Ellen my fondest love. I wonder has Getrude her baby already. I want to be remembered to her also and to Libby Miller as well.

I wonder where Alsberg is now, I see his name nowhere in any of the publications. I hope he is writing a serious work. I always urged him to do that rather than stray articles. He has the necessary understanding, if only he will have the ability. I am sure darling, you will receive the lovely things he sent through him, he is absolutely dependable. Soon I may send you something else. There is an exhibition here of peasant work, I am going there tomorrow. One may now buy things. If I find something real Russian I will get it for you. Yes, one may now buy things and the average Philistine is content. . . .

Tell our Doctor friend that his brother has received his letters at last, also some money. He has no doubt written our Doc. Give him my regards. I wrote you that we received all the parcels you sent. There was great rejoicing among our friends. The dress is very beautiful. I am still wearing my old dresses, though if one goes to the theatres now one is amazed with the dressup now displayed. I keep on wondering where all that finery was last year. The new bourgeoisie dresses like the old only somewhat more gaudy. It is all so funny, only one can not laugh and one has no tears left to weep. Life is indeed a circus and the mass

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Oct. 17, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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3

acts the clown. I wonder will it ever be otherwise.

Since I am in R. I have heard the compositions of Scriabine they are marvelous. I heard several things the other night. He was the greatest genius of our time. Now his family is starving. The other night a collection was taken up for the family. I had only three thousand rubles with me which made me sick. If you can you must hear the Scriabine music, it is overpowering. I also go to the theatre some time. Nothing new whatever and the old is poorly done except for the art theatre and the studio of Stanislavsky. There is the Kamenny theatre which is entirely new in its scenic interpretation. We are to see Salome there Wed. I love the color and scenery but I can't say I enjoy their interpretation. I will write you more about that another time. Have discovered only one new thing, a little theatre which does improvised work, plays developed out of each artist, not written plays, but improvised characters. It is most interesting.

You must have heard from Agnes Smedley by this time and from others. I am now anxiously waiting for news from you, the last letter was dated August 26th. Darling you ought to write at least once a week. Send one letter in the following way, an envelope addressed to me, simply Emma Abramovna. Seal it and inclose in another envelope addressed to Lawrence Collas, c/o Foreign Office, Whitehall S. to be forwarded to the British Commercial Mission, Moscow.

In that way I will receive the letter without delay through the brother in law of our friend Shakol. In that way package could also be sent but we need nothing. Now that even the government pays 60,000 for an dollar one need not starve in R. Not that we have many dollars, but we manage. At any rate you must not spend any more money on us. Only if my "rich" brother cares to inclose five or ten dollars in a letter occasionally I shall kick. It will be safe if sent to the English address.

Darling, precious, I long for you with all the intensity of my being. Some day we will meet and make up for lost time.

Meanwhile I embrace you passionately. And our beloved baby, hug him tight for Tante E. Love to Teddy, Moe, the Rochester folk, our Minnie if you write her. Ever yours, my own.

No you need not fear that I am losing my strength or will, I only feel paralysed, temporarily, overwhelmed by the deep tragedy of R.

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357

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1921] Oct. 19, Moscow [to] Stell[a Ballantine, New York], / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 24 x 20 cm.

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12599

Moscow October 19th.

Dear Sister. You will read this letter to Stella, so there is no need my repeating things. I can only add that I think of you all my dears, with love. I long to see you of course. Hope some day it maybe realized. I do hope our old lady is feeling better and is less of a burden to you, my dear sister. The white shawl I am sending her will keep her warm, the parcel goes to Stella registered. Please send her this letter without delay. Loving greetings to the whole family, Sam, mother, Saxe, Ruthie, Beansie, Herman and Hyman and his family.
Devotedly.

My darling Stell. The inclosed copy is a copy of a letter which went to you via Riga Monday. Tomorrow Mr Collas himself goes to Riga so he will mail this registered to Rochester. I think it is best not to send all letters to your address.

Yesterday, I went to the birthday party of Vovshins son and there met Dr. Rosen, or is it Fovin? I did not quite catch his name. He brought me greetings from our Moe and \$300. I was quite surprised and of course, very glad with the greetings even more than with the money. One feels so isolated, such a stranger in a strange land that every word from ones own comes like a ray of light. I wonder has our Moushe become so rich, or is this part of the money my old lady wanted me to have. I should not care to rob the old lady as she will need her little income while she lives. Well, if it is her money then Moe will have to make it up to her should she run short, or perhaps I may not be able to earn enough to refund her. I should not want to live if I had to ~~give~~ keep on being dependent. Surely some day soon I will be on my feet again.

Together with this letter will go a registered parcel, just a few things, the white shawl is for my old lady, the bag for you my own. I got both at the exhibition of peasant work. Unfortunately I did not have enough money with me, else I would have bought something for Fizzie, Ellen, Ian and Ruthie. Sasha arrived from Petrograd today with our dear friend Alexandra Timofeevna, so we are going to the exhibition again tomorrow when I will buy some more things and send them later.

Just think of it, Alsberg sent us \$30 through the Doctor. Sash and I were very moved by his thoughtfulness. Will you get hold of him and give him our affectionate greetings. Now you must also have the things I sent you. Tell H A, I hope he is not discouraged about his work and that he will devote himself to writing a real book, some thing unlike the stuff that has appeared so far.

Dearest, of course, you will not send us any more money but write us to the London address, only be sure to address me simply as Emma Abramovna, then inclose the letter and address it to Mr Lawrence Collas. Be careful what you write of course.

Good by precious, kiss our darling baby for me. Love to our friends. I have not heard from Max once, strange boy. If you write him send him my love, affectionate greetings to Millie and Pipsie, they must be terribly lonely.

Oh I hold you very close.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1921] Oct. 19, Moscow [to Lena Cominsky], Rochester, [N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 24 x 20 cm.

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Devotedly.

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Oh I hold you very close.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Credential, 1921 Nov. 7, Moscow to Emma Goldman, Moscow (enclosure?)] / Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

КОМИТЕТ
 по увековечению памяти
 Петра Александровича
 КРОПОТКИНА.

№ 739
 МОСКВА. Милютинская, 8.
 Телеф. 1-12-33.

ДМИТРОВ (Москов. губ.).
 С. Г. Кропоткина.

Москва.

November

1921

24051

CREDENTIAL

The bearer of this credential Comrade
 Emma GOLDMAN is hereby authorised by the
 Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee to represent
 it at the International Anarchist Congress,
 which is to be held in Berlin in December 1921.

SECRETARY



The Emma Goldman Papers

870921068

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 8, Moscow [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. --
3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Moscow November 8th. 1921

12600

My dearest.

Your letter of October 2nd received a few days ago. Sasha also received a letter from Saxe dated Sept 2nd. I have no doubt darling that you do not allow more than three weeks to pass between letters. But in view of the fact that letters to Russia go very slowly and that many letters get lost you ought to write a little more often if you do not wish me to worry, even if only a few lines.

I have sent you a letter and parcel about two weeks ago. As they went via Riga, this also will go that way, both letter and package will be delayed. But it will reach you safely. To day I am again sending a small box with Christmas gifts, the waist and lace apron are for you my beloved. The other lace apron for Ida Diamond, one of the hand bags and bead necklace for Idas daughters, one bag for dear Fitzie even if she never writes me. One bag for Ellen Kennan and one for Ruthie. I may have sent a bag for Ruthie in my last parcel, I am not sure. If I have then give one of the bags to Pauline. I want Fitzie to pick out the bag she likes best, she may care for the gay one, blue and red, or the green. She can have any one she likes and the rest you will give out accordingly.

Now as to some news, our comrades from Berlin have requested our presence at the International Congress of Anarchists to be held in Berlin the 25th of Dec. They have made that request of the Foreign office here that we be allowed to leave Russia. ~~Waxman fitting~~ We saw Litvinov who told us to fill out the usual questionnaire, which we did. The only thing we could not and would not do is to give guarantees of our loyalty. As we have never in our lives given such promises to any government, there is no reason why we should do it now. Besides, the guarantee is more than a promise, it means leaving people behind who will be responsible for what we say or do. Well, we will not consent to such an arrangement. We must be given passports without that or not at all. We are not very sanguine about the outcome, but we have applied and will let our ~~German comrades~~ know the result so they can act accordingly. Of course, you too will be notified.

Should there be no hitch at this end, we will have to secure a German visa, we have written our Berlin comrades to do this at the German end as that will facilitate matters. Surely if the German government permits the Congress to take place it also will permit delegates to attend it. We hope so anyway. But who can account for the whims of governments?

Dearest, I have so often told you not to pay any attention to what is being written in my name that I hate to repeat it again. But to show you how utterly absurd the story is by the associated man I will tell you all about it. A stupid looking boy not more than 25 came to see me. I told him that I give no interviews and never have. He then said he really wanted anarchist literature as he never read any thing in America. I expressed my surprise that anyone should have to come all the way to Russia for anarchist literature and I added "since you do not read English I am unable to oblige you as there is no anarchist literature in English" You see how he was able to concoct the story that I said no literature can be published here. Now while it is true that no other literature save government literature can be published though some of Peters works have been permitted, still I did not speak to the man about it, simply because he looked so foolish.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12601

2.

I did however tell him about the Anarchist Congress. His story about my room is as distorted as the rest of the stuff. It happens that I have a very cosy and lovely little room, with the sun streaming into it whenever there is sunshine in Moscow. It is well furnished and spotlessly clean. B K lived in it when she was here. But what is the use wasting time, you simply must pay no attention to the stuff you read that is all.

I am terribly sorry to hear about Minnie, what a dreadful thing for her to be stricken just when she was beginning to enjoy her life. Certainly Helenas children are not spoiled by fate. I quite agree with Moe, Minnie ought to be rushed to America where she could get the care she needs. If it is in human power to cure her the Mayos are the men. It is nonsense for you to offer to take care of her, you are not a nurse, besides what good would it do. If only it were not such a long journey you might have gone to Manila to bring Minnie back. But time in her case is most precious, I do hope Mr Welch managed

somehow to send her on. I am terribly anxious about our Minnie, wish I were where I could take care of her. I would do it most lovingly. If only she could come on I am sure she could be properly cared for.

I do hope you will keep me posted. My own beloved sister, it is well she did not live to face this new shock. Do send Minnie my deepest love and concern. Tell her and Max Tom nothing would please me so much as to be able to pay back to Minnie in love and care for what my own sister has done for me. Unfortunately, I am myself in a pretty helpless condition just now, though not physically so.

No, I had not seen Henriettas baby before, thanks for the photo. I can well imagine what the loss must mean to both Harry and Hank. Life is made up of much grief and very little joy. Send them my love. Tell Saxe Saxe will answer his letter some day soon, he sends his love. I am patiently waiting for the letter Saxe promised to write me. Among many things I have learned in Russia patience is not the least of them.

I wrote you that Dr Vovshins friend has given me the money Moe gave him. He thought it was Moe's. He gave me no letter. He was to see me Sunday. He said that no letter was given to him for me. So Moe and Dr V must have forgotten your letter which you say you sent. It is alright just so I know you are all well. Please send my old lady my love and gratitude for the money, I appreciate more than I can express her gift.

So glad Teddy is engaged at last, he was getting to be an old bachelor so long off the stage. I hope the engagement is ~~not~~ long lived so you can pull through the Winter without worry. I can see by the papers, it will be a terribly Winter for many people in America, for the people everywhere. . . .

So glad your son is progressing in the "native expression." Hug him for me, I can't tell you how I ache to see him. Yes, letters are so uncertain. More reason to write often. You certainly should have had letters from me later than July 26th. I am sending them just as fast as the opportunity offers itself, besides sending them by mail. Only a little while ago Sasha and I spent a fortune in postage to you and Fitz. Of course, it takes longer for letters to go from here than to reach here. Ethel tells me she hears regularly from home every week by post. So Lipman is out, what about the others? What about Molly? I dread to think of her coming here. Give her my love and remember me to the boys.

Yesterday was the fourth year of the Russian Revolution. It was a dismal day, grey and wet, not only on the streets but in the hearts of many people. The new backed revolutionist Isadore Duncan

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12602

3.
made her first appearance at the Opera where the festivities took place. I did not attend. Official functions is more than I can stand now.

Two years ago I attended the anniversary at Madison Square Garden. How thrilled I was. Distance lends enchantment. It was such a wonder full dream and such a terrible awakening. . . .

I wonder why Alsberg left the things I gave him for you with Rucker, he promised to send them to you. I suppose he found no one reliable and did not ~~send~~ home from Germany. Remember me very kindly to him. Tell him Dr R gave me his message, many thanks.

Pretty soon we will know whether we will be allowed to leave. If not we will join the Musee of the Revolution again, an expedition is to be sent to Tashkent and Bucharia and also to Batum, they want us back. I will keep you posted.

Much love to the Rochester folk, to Fizzie, Moe, Teddy Ian, of course, to Ellen K. Affectionate greetings to Millie and Pipsie never a line from Maxie. To Stewart Kerr, Van Volkenbourn,

to Harry Kelly and my old faithful Counselor, to Leonard Abbot and his family my affectionate greetings. Also to dear old Bolton Hall and Daniel Kiefer. I think of them all most tenderly, perhaps because tenderness never seemed so much needed in the world. The other day for the first time since I am in Moscow I went to the Tolstoy's Museum. It is beautifully arranged. You almost feel his spirit. What would his voice have said to the madness of the world? His daughter Alexandra was explaining to a group of Asiatic students all about her father. When she got to the little room which was copied from the one wherein he died she said, "he came away from ~~from~~ because he no longer wanted to live in luxury." It was an impressive picture. Wonder will there ever be such a monument to that other Great Russian, Peter K. So far nothing has been accomplished, for many reasons. . . .

Good night my beloved child. Write often. Your letters are always an event for me. I embrace you passionately

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 15, Moscow [to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12603

Moscow Nov. 15th. 1921

Stella, dearest. The original of your letter of Oct. 21st. It was the week. The very same day I received yours of Oct. 21st. It was the quickest way I ever heard from you, 17 days to reach me. That is fine. You had better keep on addressing Mr Collas to the British Consulate. The mail arrived Wed. Mr Collas immediately sent over your letter. He is most charming and so obliging.

You again state that a letter was given to Dr Rosen for me. I do not know what Moe and Dr V did with that letter, I only know Dr Rosen failed to bring one, he again told me that no letter was given to him for me. Better find out from Moe what became of your letter.

No reply yet about our passports, our dear friend Angelica Belabanova herself took the questionnaires to the Dept where they have to be signed, in case they went over to the Soviet of the highest Commissars. After they are signed there the Extraordinary Commission has to put its seal and only then are passports given out. As I said I am not over hopeful, though there is a possibility. Maybe by next week I will know definitely. I hope so anyway. Meanwhile S. is in Petrograd helping to organize the expedition which we mean to join if we are denied the chance to leave.

Dr Rosen tells me that one can just as well pay in \$10 here if one wants to receive provisions. If we stay we will do it. For the present we have enough to keep us going, besides one can get almost anything in the way of food on the market now. It is unbelievable the amount of stuff that has suddenly propped up and there are any number of people who can buy it, not any of the old bourgeoisie by any means. Now that the government itself pays a high rate for the American Dollar one need not go hungry, at least not those of us who have friends at home. Not so the workers, they starve and bleed and die, always.

Imagine that young fool from the Ass Press was up to see me again. You can imagine what I told him. He swore up and down that he sent no such report as credited to him. He learned somewhere that we have applied for passports, so he came up to ask me when we are going. I told him I did not know. Oh, yes, he told me Isadora Duncan wants to see me. I asked him to give her my address and telephone. I have avoided the Americans unless they come to me, most of them are ridiculous in their actions here, such lickspittles, they make me sick.

I was shocked to hear about your mother. I hope fervently her fall had no evil results. Send her my love.

Good night dearest. I press you very close to my heart. Love to our beloved baby, you can never tell me too much about him. Love to Teddy, Tell him the other night I saw a marvelous performance at one of Stanislavsky's Studios of As You Like It. The settings would have done his heart good. Also saw a marvelous performance of the Revisor. But Chistiakov, the revisor was nothing like Orlov who played that part in Chicago. By the way, did I ever write you that I was told he is alive. Have not been able to find out where he is.

With deep love

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 16 [New York to] E[mma] Goldman, [Moscow (government transcript)] / [St]ella [Ballantine]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Letter to Emma Goldman from Vera.

Moscow, December 10, 1921.

Acknowledges receipt of a letter from E. Goldman, transmitted to her by Mr. C. Seems very anxious about the German visas . . . "I took over to Ang. the letter for her, but did not see her . . . Shadourskaya happened to be there, she came out to talk with me, told me that Ang. is leaving for Sw. these days, so you will be able to correspond through the party paper (Politiken, I think)" . . .

Vera.

Letter to Vera from Emma Goldman.

Riga, Dec. 20, 1921.

. . . You might send your next letter, from Sonya, to poste restante Stockholm, using my first initial only and name (i.e. family name). But if you should hear that I am in B - n, then send your letters to R.R., but in double envelope; my name being on the inside envelope, while on the outside one you can have my initials only in the left hand lower corner. . .

36 Grove St. Nov. 16, 1921.

To E. Goldman from Hella.

. . . I hope by this time you have received the \$300 I sent with Dr. R. also the long letter he carried. He also carried a large sum to the Doc's brother. We are a little confused by the many addresses you sent us. I lately wrote to Mr. Collas care of the British Mission in Riga, as per former letter. All other letters were sent to A. Shapiro, Moscow. I also sent copies . . . Things are as usual in Rochester.

From R. 59

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 16 [New York to] E[mma] Goldman, [Moscow (government transcript)] / [St]ella [Ballantine]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

- 2 -

Please have faith in all of us over here . . . The Children sail November 23rd. They will probably reach you before this . . . I am going to Ellis Island tomorrow. I am giving Abrams a verbal message for you, a plan. The boys were determined to go, Mollie is going, of course under protest. I haven't heard from H.A. in weeks and weeks. I understand he is writing a book and not articles. I cannot get word to Nicolai, and it seemed foolish to send money to nothing but poste restante. Millie and Peepsie are both now in Jan's school. Millie is in the nursery department and Peepsie is in the office of the Bureau of Educational Experiment. They hear from Max every week . . . You can reach Aline at any time through the Guaranty Trust Company # 1 rue des Italiens, Paris, her headquarters . . . I gave her Max address. Dr. Mac is going to Germany for the Congress. We were hoping H.M. would go, but it is not settled.

Shapiro.

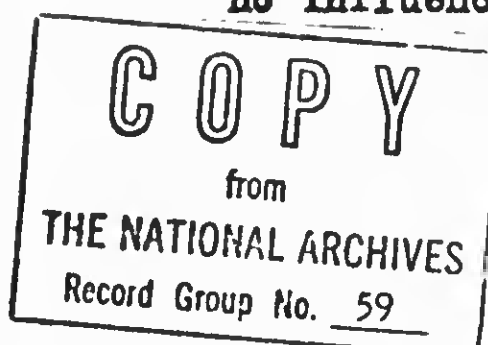
London County & Westminster Bank Limited
Upper Clapton Branch
98 & 100 Upper Clapton Road
London, N.E. 19th October 1917.

Mrs. Shapiro.

Letter to Shapiro.

Berlin, December 8, 1921.

Acknowledges receipt of letter of 4th inst. Regrets to be unable to do anything in the matter of visas as they "have no influence in the quarters where visas are issued". In



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870921058

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 21, Moscow [to] Stell[a Ballantine, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12578

Moscow Nov. 21st. 1921

Darling Stell.

At last I have some news. We were given our passports. So far we have not yet procured the German visa. In fact, we are not sure we will get it. But we are certain of the Litvian visa. That means, we will be able to get as far as Kovno, "our home" town. From there we will see. If all goes well, we may leave here in about two weeks. Will cable you from the first European city we reach. Meanwhile you ought to go on writing as one never knows what might happen at the last minute.

It was excruciating to go through the last two years. But you need not think it will be easy to go away. All my life I fed on the wonderful spirit of Russia, all my life I longed to see it free. Then to have found it prostrate, kicked into the gutter, attacked on all sides, enduring tortures Dantes Inferno did not contain. Above all, stabbed to the heart by its own friends. And then not to be able to help even a little bit. Yes, that was the hardest to bear from never in all my life did I long to help, to be of service, to give out of my overflowing heart to the people of Russia. But it was impossible. So if we go, we will have given nothing and no one will know the yearning that was ours since we set foot on Russian soil. Will I be able to give anything in other lands? I am not deceived. I know only too well how rooted I have become. I know how little I could do now in America which seems to have gone mad with reaction. Yet I feel that I belong there and nowhere else. However, I must try other shores, get away from the nightmare, look at the tremendous panorama of Russia at a distance. That is necessary if one is not to judge too objectively.

I am so glad to hear that Teddy is doing well, it will help you out of your difficulties. You were so hard pressed and yet you spent so much money on us. Soon day I may be able to return it all with love. Dearest mine, I have never doubted your capacity to understand. I only knew that on one who has not himself experienced the great woe of Russia can quite understand. I do not even know that we, who have seen it all at close range and who have suffered with it, it will be able to make others understand. It is all so complex, so terrific!

Your poor mother I hope has suffered no evil consequences from her fall. You must let me know. Max has never written. But that is his old disease. I think it will be well to write me/O Max, in case all goes well and we reach Berlin safely I would like to have a word of greeting from you my best beloved child. If you know where Aline is send me her address, or write her to send me a line to Max. However my name should not appear on the envelope, not on your letter either.

What about Minnie? Anything new? Do write me soon both to Max or Rockers address as well as to Mr Callas.

Well, darling I don't know what the next few days will bring. In any event I will write you again next week unless we leave and then I will cable you from either Riga or Kovno.

I hold you very close to me in deep love. Love to our baby and Teddy and all our folks. Love to our friends. Sasha has returned and will add a few lines himself.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850625140

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 23 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman] and A[lexander] B[erkman], Moscow / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Nov. 23, 1921.

My dear T. G. and A. B.:

Hurrying down this morning in my car to meet the people who are going to the boat to see off the three boys and little girl, it seems like old days when I used to hustle down from the Bronx with you both to the trial down at the Post Office.

The Farewell Dinner, without the guests of honor, had almost as much excitement and thrill as your farewell dinner. This is being written hurriedly this morning, to be taken along and given to our friend Jake. I explained the general situation to him as far as you are both concerned. The Supreme Court dismissed A. B.'s case which closes it, and we withdrew your case which closed that. Your proposition could be reopened. A. B.'s is closed. You should let your friends here know what you want them to do for you, whether in Russia or here. I believe, as a matter of fact, we could get some privileges and compliances with requests by asking them from here for you, then even if you made them yourself. All questions are for you to decide and act up to do. Because of the personal elements involved and questions of conscience scruples, you are the only people who can decide these questions.

I am, as ever, with very best regards to you, both and all my other friends in Russia, with the possible hope that I may come traveling that way next summer. I am

Sincerely yours,

HW/b

P.S. I expect to go to Texas and then perhaps to Mexico to help secure the release of Jesus M. Rangel and Charles Cline. I am, besides, working for general amnesty trying to obtain the release of the I. W. W.s. I send you copy of the poem of Charles Ashleigh, one of the I. W. W. I am trying to get out. I am sending with Abrams a two pound box of French pastry candy which I know, if you receive it, you will both enjoy. I will mark it that it comes from me and I hope even the Soviet Officials or anyone else who may get it will honor my signature and let it go through.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

891214009

[Letter, 1921] Nov. 29, Moscow [to] Sophi[a Kropotkin, Dmitrov, U.S.S.R. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Central State Archive of the October Revolution. Institutional Location: Peter Kropotkin Collection.

Moscow Nov. 29/21
 Dear Sophie
 I am very surprised to
 find you are leaving Russia
 tomorrow. We were
 waiting for your passport 10 days
 but it was not given. I
 would be able to leave
 only to day if the
 situation were not
 so serious. But
 taking the better experience
 of your stay I consider the
 fact that we are not
 to come closer to
 you. I had hoped that after
 you and your great labors
 would be able to make
 the best use of your
 energy. I hoped that he would
 be able to help you. But
 I need not say that I
 do not deny perhaps it

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[Letter, 1921] Nov. 29, Moscow [to] Sophi[a] Kropotkin, Dmitrov, U.S.S.R. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

due to the fact that I have
 been a faithful and active member
 of the struggle for the
 liberation of myself and my
 people from a life of
 poverty and degradation
 and protected by the
 great and powerful
 nation, we are so different
 in the values, of people
 and efforts that we expect
 to be coming close to each
 other. I am very sorry
 I wish with all my heart
 that you will keep me
 up to date due to the fact
 the great work before you
 and you may have great
 success in the future
 but I am sure still so much
 understand & appreciate
 I hope the coming paper

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 9, Riga [Latvia to Harry Weinberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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copy

Riga, Dec. 9, 1921.

My dear, dear Counselor:

It is a long time between letters. Is it not? I will make no idle apologies. Living in Dante's Inferno is not conducive to communication with the outside world. It is not only the censorship which prevented my writing. It was much more my own disturbed and harassed spirit which could find no peace or comfort long enough to write serenely.

And now we are out of Russia. Out of the frying pan and into the fire, for is not the outside world in a conflagration. Nowhere need one hope to escape the mad flames reaching out for the free spirit. Indeed, I am not deceived as to the possibilities of life and work anywhere in the world today. The only difference between Russia and other countries is that in Russia the very elements who have helped to unfurl the Revolution, have also helped to carry the Revolution to her grave - and that pain eats more into one's vitals than the existence of reaction in other lands. One can survive the betrayal of an enemy but one you believed in and loved - one never can survive. Of course, the fault may be all our own, for do not all of us put into people and ideas our own fancies of the Great and Beautiful? We, who have all our lives known that all governments rest on coercion and violence, how could we believe that the government which labels itself revolutionary will differ from the rest of the breed. I ~~have~~ have agreed again and again that the Housman theory

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 9, Riga [Latvia to Harry Weinberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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[1921 Dec 11]

paralyzes all initiative, and destroys all life and creates a dead weight of uniformity which in the end must needs pull down the structure. How could I have been so enthused about the Russian venture? I have but one explanation. I have longed for the revolution - so fervently and intensely - that when it was born, I saw only its glory and not its deformity. Such find we in the sensations of a woman who longed for a child until well nigh the decline of - - - -creation - and when the miracle happens, she is too exultant to see in her new born babe the mistaken little lady too frail to sustain life and grow into maturity. But here I am off on a tangent. I had not intended in this letter. That's what it means to get the first whiff of freedom of expression.

What I started out to write is this: I want you to write me with perfect frankness about my chance of returning to America. It is no use deceiving myself and others by saying I will feel at home and be able to take root anywhere out of America. If I had unlimited means and could reconcile myself to a life of leisure, Europe would be preferable. Even though the world is one black dungeon, one could travel comfortably and without annoyance, if one had means and would change one's name. It might even be profitable to cruise the world and write one's impression. But I have no means and I cannot continue being dependent much longer. Nor can I continue inactive much longer. I must really know how I stand in regard to the States, so it's up to you to tell me.

First, any sense in pressing the "Marshner" claim? Secondly, any good in going through with the marriage force. I mean any good for a deported woman to attach herself

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 9, Riga [Latvia to Harry Weinberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

to an American gentleman? I mean will the fact of marriage to an American annul my deportation? I don't say I have already found the unfortunate one who will sacrifice himself for a "good cause". Still, I meant to be prepared - meant to get my nadan ready. Please write me at your earliest opportunity. Address your letter to Rudolf Rocker, Rirchhof Str. 3, Neu Roeln, Berlin. My name is not to appear on the envelope. Write me all about yourself. How you have been, what triumphs you have had in defeating the sanctity of the courts. Write an old time letter. I am really hungry for one. We missed your young clients who I fear will not be very grateful for having been taken out of Atlanta and Missouri and sent to the Russian Penitentiary. But I suppose they wanted the change themselves.

Remember me very affectionately to dear old Bolton Hall and Daniel Kiefer.

Always faithfully,

Your old client,

E.G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 10, Moscow [to Emma Goldman, Riga, Latvia (government transcript)] / Vera. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Letter to Emma Goldman from Vera.

Moscow, December 10, 1921.

Acknowledges receipt of a letter from E. Goldman, transmitted to her by Mr. C. Seems very anxious about the German visas . . . "I took over to Ang. the letter for her, but did not see her . . . Shadourskaya happened to be there, she came out to talk with me, told me that Ang. is leaving for Sw. these days, so you will be able to correspond through the party paper (Politikon, I think)" . . .

Vera.

Letter to Vera from Emma Goldman.

Riga, Dec. 20, 1921.

. . . You might send your next letter, from Sonya, to poste restante Stockholm, using my first initial only and name (i.e. family name). But if you should hear that I am in B - n, then send your letters to R.R., but in double envelope; my name being on the inside envelope, while on the outside one you can have my initials only in the left hand lower corner. . .

36 Grove St. Nov. 16, 1921.

To E. Goldman from Hella.

. . . I hope by this time you have received the \$300 I sent with Dr. H. also the long letter he carried. He also carried a large sum to the Doc's brother. We are a little confused by the many addresses you sent us. I lately wrote to Mr. Collier care of the British Mission in Vienna.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1921] Dec. 12, Riga [Latvia to] Sophi[a Kropotkin, Dmitrov? U.S.S.R.] /
Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 22 × 18 cm.
Obtained from the Central State Archive of the October Revolution. Institutional Location: Peter Kropotkin Col-
lection.

Транспортно-Материальный Отдел Н. К. В. Т. в Латвии.

Riga Dec 12-22.

My dear Sophie.

I hope you have forgiven me for letting you know only at the last moment, of our going away. It was not done intentionally, I did not know myself, until the days before our departure whether we will be able to leave. Well, we are out of Russia only to get into another prison. The whole world has become one terrible fortress now. We have not yet obtained our German visa or what is more disturbing, we'll probably not get one. So you can see, we are in a desperate state. Bertram not young Ruben who advised him to see my uncle who must help us. He said his uncle knows you. Sophia and is interested in the works of Peter.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

891214010

[Letter, 1921] Dec. 12, Riga [Latvia to] Sophi[a Kropotkin, Dmitrov? U.S.S.R.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.
Obtained from the Central State Archive of the October Revolution. Institutional Location: Peter Kropotkin Collection.

Транспортно-Материальный Отдел Н. К. В. Т. в Латвии.

So I went to him. Of course
I could not tell him that we
are going to an anarchist congress
in Berlin. I had to use some
pretext. I said we are presenting
the Kropotkin Memorial and
that we are to meet Lasca
in Berlin to confer on the
publication of her father's
works. Now it is true that
I mean to call Lasca to
Hamburg not for the purpose
I named. It is also true
that I am a member of the
anarchist committee. But
I certainly do not intend
to make use of that. I only
used this in the hope of in-
ducing the man to help
with the German visa.
Well he could not do anything
or he did not want to.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

891214010

[Letter, 1921] Dec. 12, Riga [Latvia to] Sophi[a Kropotkin, Dmitrov? U.S.S.R.] /
Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.
Obtained from the Central State Archive of the October Revolution. Institutional Location: Peter Kropotkin Col-
lection.

Транспортно-Материальный Отдел Н. К. В. Т. в Латвии.

I don't particularly care what
the map will show. But I
do not want you to think
I am using Peter's name
for personal purposes.
The man has a long letter
from Sasha about the
work of Peter. He did not
go into details, but I could
gather that I want you to
give me some authority. I
want to meet you somewhere
out of Russia. If my opinion
is of any value to you, I
suggest that you really
arrange to meet Sasha.
I am impatient for the future
also for the European
publication of Peter's work.
I am sure you will come
to my understanding more
Sasha quicker if you

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891214010

[Letter, 1921] Dec. 12, Riga [Latvia to] Sophi[a Kropotkin, Dmitrov? U.S.S.R.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.
Obtained from the Central State Archive of the October Revolution. Institutional Location: Peter Kropotkin Collection.

see her Han by letter as through
strangers. After all Sarah is
your daughter & has some
claim to her father's name.
Forgive my ignorance.
Rubin's uncle is a stupid
business man, so you will
know how to act.
Dear Sophie I was going
to send you some up-dated
news & stock news but I
understand Dr. Brouha
has accepted stuff for you.
In any event, you will
receive one quite under
mean & a pair of stockings
from the latest parcel sent
me from America. I have
written instructions to that
effect.
Said by dear Sophie
Believe me your friend
always. If you want me to
do anything in Berlin. Write
the letter to Sophie. He promises
how to reach me. With love. Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870927041

[Letter, 1921] Dec. 13, Riga [Latvia to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 10 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

My beloved. I have a chance to send Riga Dec 13th
tomorrow via England. It may reach you quicker.
The letter which left Riga yesterday should have
gone last week. I delayed it hoping to give
some definite news about ourselves. Nothing
until now except that our German friends
are making very hard to get our visa. One
man well known in the Socialist movement
the brother of an anarchist who was
stopped in London years ago, has written
to the German Consul here about our case.
Another has sent us a letter of introduction
to a Professor here. But so far nothing definite.
They are due a telegram from Moscow. They
stand glad to bring us. The German
Minister of Foreign Affairs. It looks
like we may get the right of entry into
the German Empire. If we will be
to operate from here about German
in any event. There is no spot any more
on this madhouse earth which will
up asylum for very long. We will
lose our identity somehow, as he has
from place to place. Don't keep
trying to get other papers. Just
that and must stick long in one place.
We may have to do that here.

In my letter dated Moscow I promised
to write you when we'd get here. We did
not do it because because we were
afraid of too much publicity. But one can
not escape one's doom. The Associated Press
man has forgotten and that we are here. I
must have come to see me last week.
So day he was here again. I was ill and
just a bad cold. So I told him I
not be seen. But I suppose he will come.

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[Letter, 1921] Dec. 13, Riga [Latvia to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 10 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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again. I suppose he has called something
to America, so you will have known before
my letter reached you that we are out of
the so appreciate a beautiful situation.
I must tell you that the friends of Sweden
moved when we were deported from
Sweden - because if anything happened in
Sweden - it means if we become active
in any way - Sweden could not then
us back to R. Now while the R. Bureau
has given us passports, we know in
authority that it will not readmit us.
is more preferable to have us out
of R. Now that we were active in
may. But the Soviet people know
and names carried weight with
groups of people now. They could
us, nor could they deport us for
scandal to R. So they welcomed our
application for passports. However
these passports are a terrible burden
upon us. No whole world is
shocked with Russia. What else? I
would know how far away the
union in R is crushed. I am
distrusted by people that he
it would not like in such a
everything Russian.
Lasha was sent on leaving R. I
he had made all arrangements for
R. My whole being rebelled against
sneaking out of R like a thief in the
night. Of course I would have gone
may in the end I was suffocated there - but
I wanted to test the open place first. Well, we
got out "respectably" but for our chance

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[Letter, 1921] Dec. 13, Riga [Latvia to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 10 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

to trace anyone in Europe I wish I could
have been the most practical - if it had been
in my eye in, you a perpetual chase. But
now, sufficient unto the day. The main thing
now is to get into Germany.
Dearest you must immediately get
hold of a deliver the enclosed note to
him. His uncle maybe able to help. Also
you might see if he may know some
people in Germany. Possibly - Literary or
otherwise who might be of help. At least
we will get a very transit visa which
will enable us to live in Germany for
a very short while. I must therefore
please who can help to making way
of way. I don't know of anyone else
yet. He & maybe D.H. My father may have
friends in Germany. If you get any
thing for me forward it on to the
Richard of the N. 3. Newkallen. Berlin.
I have letters of Mrs. H. returned to
me by Mr. Caspary. It went to Moscow for
a de sent to his wife. He has been
a Godsend to us. He is so far no political
opinions. (Lucky day) but he is willing
to take risks as he merges himself
concerned in the matter. He has been
of great help to us. Through him I have
the able to keep in touch with
unfortunate friends we have left behind.
It was heart-breaking to me to leave
before mother's arrival. Not that I could
spared her what is waiting for her
days. Still I might have given her some
personal care & affection. One misses that
terribly in R. It is incredible how cold in
different and hard people in R have become

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[Letter, 1921] Dec. 13, Riga [Latvia to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 10 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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to each other. Of course, years of hunger¹⁸⁷⁴ we
not conducive to sociability and friendliness.
It is not only the hunger which has distorted
the old Russian sympathy and hospitality. It is the
mechanistic nature of enforced communism,
the deadening, soul destroying influence of
the state machine. Instead of bringing people
together it has separated them, instead of
making them friendly - it has made them
enemies, at each other's throat, distorting and
hating each other. It gave my blood when
I first came upon this ghastly thing. I
know how Marie will feel. Fortunately, the
Manga, Ethel Dora and all the
Victims. They are such warm hearted people
the dear child. you keep on spending
money on me. But the things you sent me
Marie will make them happy so you need
not mind that they will bring you me
I am always getting instructions how the
things are to be distributed. Be dress to
my dear friend Alexandra H. Democritova.
Be underwear to my imprisoned women.
Be stockings and refreshments to the
Victims & Manga. Be love to Manga &
Sasha has also decided what was sent
him. Be same we will do about the food
boxes. There are so many people hungry in
Moscow, one does not have to go to the Volga
region. But dear love is the for the
food boxes & you people for the things
they sent me. I appreciate their desire
more than words can express.
I am very, very sorry Stella dear. But
my old mother must live to become such

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1921] Dec. 13, Riga [Latvia to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 10 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Monday. Your mother's spirit is beautiful. We
justly your father can not outlive his
lasting gratitude. Here used to be reasons
in the past when he dyed so early
you. It is too bad that there is no de-
cent for the aged. Russia is no de-
cent, are arranged places. If I were
again I should insist that your mother
give a practical nurse who would
spare time to attend to the old
day the present I can do nothing. I
felt so helpless & useless at the
last 2 years. And I have no idea
I will end. Give your dear mother my
am so proud of her fine generous
will I find it? My independence - she
compared with Russia. In fact I will
be able to do anything until I have been
gay on Russia. If at least I were
to live in peace somewhere I might
write something worth while. But if
are to be moving about, how can I
write? When there is the question of
education. No far millions would I
to any of the dailies to ~~write~~ publish
articles. And what magazine would take
of them? I have already written you
about Boni. What a few suppressive
publishing house would take a look
read the note to Alsheng and take
over with him.
I still need no money for the present
I still have some from the original note
amount we take along. If our good Dad

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870927041

[Letter, 1921] Dec. 13, Riga [Latvia to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 10 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Had just been valued at 1600, we naturally
he able to live abroad without party. I
I had no luck he was, valued 3 times. The
last time only a mark ago of his shipmen
ing. beautifully value a set of grey blazer
you remember not me, together
3500 mark us. But at that I lost 1600. But
leaves 1900, 300 you sent through. I
well me still have about 100. That means
we lived in R. almost 2 years on 1200.
That is because our expenses until
March were very insignificant. Until
May 1920 we lived on bread on the
islands we brought with us what we
received in ration from the Soviet
men. While we were in our first
we were paid insignificantly. We
meant a great deal more, but the Soviet
ruler. But enabled us to buy many
things of flour, sugar & fats. To
But was, of course, against the
in view of the fact that our friends
& acquaintances were starving, we did
not care for a law which was so stupid.
But it created the worst kind of
he would had ever seen. We brought
enough provisions to save the lives
of a dozen or more people. On our
return we lived in the International
where meals were served, besides we
got parcels brought friends going & coming
from Riga. So our expenses were a great
small.
It was only after the Kronstadt massacre
when we completely broke off connections
with the Soviet and moved to

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870927041

[Letter, 1921] Dec. 13, Riga [Latvia to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 10 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Moscow But our actual experiences began. But
received no report on light. Then he left I. a
great deal of clothing which comrades took
to be exchanged for white flour, sugar,
etc. Besides that he sent his
two high shoes from Reval. A friend
from London did the same. The Swedish
delegates to the Congress brought a lot
of stuff. Then, the two food bags were
sent. And last but not least, the last
3 months. Yet, we sent 2 boxes each
month. We not only had enough
ourselves but we sustained the
of many. Our experiences were food
day imprisoned comrades & various
schemes of getting out. We tried
types, each time spending millions
of rubles. By last time I left 50
same and your papers. When we
your passports we had to drop
anything else, so the money was lost
mainly your money went for our
fortunate comrades, who are
stopped by the so called
Republic.

Since we are out of R. our
have begun & they will continue, and
we have to keep moving & etc.
in visa. The latter in a new form
you've wanted a visa for 10 days
I mean, then you must exchange it
time you must pay. Then travel with
But we have enough for a time. And
we must begin to earn. I will not
you send me money. I will not have

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[Letter, 1921] Dec. 13, Riga [Latvia to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 10 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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self-sacrificing made for me, not unless
he come utterly helpless and that time has
not yet come. But you might have also
regarding publishing houses, since
you have time now why not become
my literary representative. How does that
appeal to you?

Darling, I was so distressed to
learn about your ear trouble. I hope
you will soon be well again. Please do
not neglect your ear. It is too dangerous
I myself am suffering from a long
cold. Last about a month ago
can not shake it off. In the
may here it got worse, especially
cough. You remember my cough in
1916 about 5 years ago, or is it
I caught so badly I can not sleep.
I am pretty much on the run. But
is no need for worry. I am so
own phlegm is improving. Give
my fondest love & kindest regards
to Sam. I may get time to end up
that part of the world. Doubt even
I may not be admitted.

You write that you gave him
a verbal message - a plan. What is it
You might write me about it to Riga
guardedly, of course, but so I should
understand. I do hope you will attend
the Congress, I must be there out
old Whoppers. I wrote R. W. about
him to let me know whether such a
step would have value. Legally
I will write him just as soon

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870927041

[Letter, 1921] Dec. 13, Riga [Latvia to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 10 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13831
as I know more definitely about all
this. I hope she can come to Berlin, see
if we can not get there - to Stockholm. I
want so much to see her. It is well she
never got to see the decline of drama
art. That that she put theatre on the stage
studios, do not have passed to play well
they still do remarkable work. But nature
has been created in years. New nature
when the conspiracy is in complete
they too, the best artists have left Russia
and new talents couldn't develop. Russia
danger, cold and mad repression.
Darwin's letter to I K is very interesting.
I was certainly just her secret into the
her tone is so intimate. How did she
so close to I K? I struggled long
and told myself I ought to write
of the rumors about her. I didn't
not have done so. Just I never
to repeat mere rumors. I do not
self believe in a guilt. But I can
not keep the matter from I K because
she wrote me that she is determined
to join him in America. After all
has her father's name which has
meaning to me & to the world. I
hope I findings have helped to clear
up. I like him very much. At the
time I do not believe the affair with
I K will last long. But if they could find
happiness every day a little while
would it. Poor I K has been very unhappy
in her intimate experiences. She is
of much that is good & a great deal of
is unpleasant. However, better not go
into the subject.

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870927041

[Letter, 1921] Dec. 13, Riga [Latvia to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 10 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Kiss Dotz for me. I'll give anything to see
her. Has she forgotten me all together? 13882
Good, my darling. Write often now
always to Rocker. Hug our precious
little man. You may also kiss Teddy for
if he cares to accept it. I am of course
very much in success. Remember
the Slanes. What would little Dolly
of here were no more dinner
indeed. Indeed Slanes are
very much more while still
have to see Teddy's canvases.
What was the matter with
my affectionately to
him. Remember me to
if you see him. What
and you never mention
a letter from Agnes
I told you very clearly
Loving
Emma's dinner would be
as much the dinner, as he
with you all. Some day he
open. Whenever it will, it will
be an still better Easter.
Always Yours
Darling we have used
so we will have to
one German friend, so sure
we may get a German friend
will stay in Germany of course
in London. Keep writing to me
lovingly. E

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1921 Dec. 14 [New York to] Emma Goldman, [Riga] Latvia / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Dec. 14, 1921.

Cable for Harry Weinberger to Emma Goldman in Latvia

CABLE IF NEED HELP NO RECENT WORD RECEIVED

HARRY WEINBERGER

DO SOMETHING re HURRYING RELEASE OF ABRAMS STEINER

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389

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] /
[Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 x 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Riga Dec 20th 1921 12866
Darling Carl, I wrote
you the Sunday yesterday I
received your letter of Nov 18.
Receives mine, your sweet
efforts to make her love
happy will not materialize
We shall find that very
very strong. I am sure
my friends in America
will be for her. I am
happy to hear that she is
that very strong. I am sure
By the way, I am sure
Mollie had not been
in Moscow. I am sure
I shall find that very day

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I am deeply sorry I will not
be able to welcome Sen. Butler.
I could have done so
little for Sen. Butler that it will
hardly matter when she
finds me gone.
Poor foolish Americans. They
will speak differently than
one piece in R. I. I have
not met one single immi-
grant who did not cause
the day of his arrival.
Even the kind of American
type who said that they
want to get away from
our own ways. Please
in the case of Sen. Butler.

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Be damned bullet, and
Wilson has left Russia
long ago. Alas, a great
many felt the Russian
we have already been
sacrificed to by the
salable monster, when
to the well known and
the other he writes
they never will accept
himself especially the
"revolution" of Russia, I
suppose no one can
by the influence of
others, so any good
days must be
experience.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

no man has ever been
more relentless to those
who still hold high the
the banner of the Revolution
than Lenin. He ordered
since last March in
exterminate them all
and they are being ex-
terminated. Several
months ago a group
of anarchists was
shot, among them Danny
Baran - a young woman
I knew in America ca.
just at present another
group is awaiting
the same fate.

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To be able to carry out
the greatest scheme
of extermination, the
anarchists are simply
classed as "anarchists"
or "Anarchists" on
countdown - revolution
and as there is only
one channel of public
expression - the Soviet
movement. There is
no way of expressing
the thought of anarchism
one of the main roads
in the Soviet movement,
known all over the world.

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as a first large
character. Red man
was shot for "land
ism". Many communists
themselves were stopped
at the danger of the
crime. But they dare
not raise their voice
in protest. The Tatar
warrior day is night.
I can not understand
to his minute. Why
they left us alone. He
knew too well. How
we were in opposition
that we furnished
the various delegate.

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12672
with the material which
exposed the myth &
created about the Soviet
regime. The plotting
imperialist of the
world are responsible
for that myth. To us
for their interference
the Bolsheviks would
not have been in
the saddle as it
is. The people of the
ment have to fight
the greatest danger.
He would have suffered
from since October

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

(no is must, my own
 named. False
 vision in institution
 is institutionalized
 conceptuality. But
 not the concept. But
 want that when I
 find a place where
 I can place my
 experience before
 the world. For the
 present, I am true
 many questions, I am
 sure. But for
 my heart, I am
 I did not mean
 to write about it.

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

h 2 6 7 9
Pls. hurry - not now
at any rate - but the
news we get from
R yesterday - made
me frantic.
We are still waiting
for the German visa. We
have had our German
visa renewed twice.
It ends Thursday. We
not sure we will get
it. If we do not & we
do not get our German
visa by Thursday, we
will have to leave
R for a long time.

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Sweden. Our position
is a desperate one
at best. No country
will tolerate us. Only
under our own name
most countries will
not let us in at all.
That is why we are not
very helpful of Germany.
Those who will give
us asylum will ex-
pect us to remain
inactive. How long
can I remain there?
No person could have
made me suffer so
much as my inactivity.

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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12676 VI
in Russia. There is
only one thing, I might
be able to write in
Swedish. But is same
thing. In Russian, that
was impossible. One
never was sure when
one's letter came a
rail mail came
that was the only
possibility of getting
anything. Because
being so near the
front, I could not
write at all easily
& I could not

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400

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 x 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

now, if I were settled
some where you a
few months, and that
in the very thing, I will
not be Sweden
may extend a con-
siderable more than
a month. On the whole
we will most likely
have to lose a great
identity for a time.
I only fear that will
be very difficult. We
were here but a few
days when I was
into an association
Press - on the Riga

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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12678

me at once. Since then
the reporters have been
at my heels constantly
I refused to see them
and told Shapiro that
the Russian police office
asked the State Dept
whether I would be
granted a visa and
that the reply was
"G. is barred from
America for ever."
I can imagine how
worried you must
be dealing with all
the stuff that must

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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appeared in the paper.
I suppose you will
send me clippings
Dearest in years of
Nov 1918 you say I must
make known to you
my plans about America
It is not what I report
it is what can be
done. I write to W
to let me know what
really can be done.
If I decide to accept
the offer of H. M. R. etc
we must make sure
the offer will be recog-
nized — — —

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 x 11 cm.

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so I do up to the W. H. H.
leave the matter
carefully when I hear
from you I will know
how to decide. When
you must let me know
the plan Adams plan
to inform me about
of course. Here is
I decided to leave
of leaving you behind
alone - but I will
sell that question
when the right spot
is settled it may
I am now waiting

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

to Dear from N. V. ~~1921~~
Does N. V. still stand
to his offer?
I have written to
the ~~editor~~ ~~editor~~ ~~editor~~ ~~editor~~
who stands very close
to the ~~editor~~ ~~editor~~ ~~editor~~ ~~editor~~
to ask him ~~not~~ ~~not~~ ~~not~~ ~~not~~
they will consent to
a public subscription
also to send me some
more particulars
regarding them. I will
let you know when
I hear from Miss
Wideman.

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12682 + X
"Don Galazone" is
a rather - one moment
he falls on his knees
before the Pope and
when the Bolsheviks
take the throne he
sneaks away from
he is utterly corrupt
But he can act - even
if his voice is no
longer so loud as
Moralafine. My
fortunately, I could
not say anything
where the majority
lead me. I asked

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[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 18 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Don't write me to Riga.
He would know. I want
very much to see you.
I can't tell you how
hungry I am for some
of my American friends.
As to you sweetheart,
precious Sam, Teddy,
Mo. Jane, I'd give
anything to have you
near me.

I saw Louis Seper
a few days before
he left. He told me
of Riga & Italy. If
I get to Berlin, I
will look her up.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to] Vera, [Moscow? (government transcript)] /
[Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Letter to Emma Goldman from Vera.

Moscow, December 10, 1921.

Acknowledges receipt of a letter from E. Goldman, transmitted to her by Mr. C. Seems very anxious about the German visas . . . "I took over to Ang. the letter for her, but did not see her . . . Shadourskaya happened to be there, she came out to talk with me, told me that Ang. is leaving for Sw. these days, so you will be able to correspond through the party paper (Politikon, I think)" . . .

Vera.

Letter to Vera from Emma Goldman.

Riga, Dec. 20, 1921.

. . . You might send your next letter, from Sonya, to poste restante Stockholm, using my first initial only and name (i.e. family name). But if you should hear that I am in B - n, then send your letters to R.R., but in double envelope; my name being on the inside envelope, while on the outside one you can have my initials only in the left hand lower corner. . .

36 Grove St. Nov. 16, 1921.

To E. Goldman from Hella.

. . . I hope by this time you have received the \$300 I sent with Dr. R. also the long letter he carried. He also carried a large sum to the Doc's brother. We are a little confused by the many addresses you sent us. I lately wrote to Mr. Collas care of the British Mission in Riga, as per former letter. All other letters were sent to A. Shapiro, Moscow. I also sent copies . . . Things are as usual in Rochester.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880422003

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 31, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (government transcript)] / Em[ma Goldman].— 3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV. 1

1922 8110-154

FEB 10

Riga
December 31, 1921
WAR DEPARTMENT
3284

My Darling:

You will be surprised that we are still in Riga. Yes, we are still here much against our will. We did not know when we left Russia that to start out into the world with a Soviet passport will be like being branded with the mark of Cain on your forehead.

The 22nd of this month we took the train for Reval, from there to embark for Stockholm. The train had hardly begun to move out of the station when three men came through the corridor asking for our documents. They looked at each passport then announced that we are under arrest and would have to get out at the next station. There we found an auto already prepared. We were packed into it baggage and all and were rapidly driven to a building which, as we learned only the next day, was the Political Secret Service Dept. We were searched to the skin and everything taken away from us and put in solitary cells.

That was Thursday. Friday a guard brought a piece of paper for me to sign, the indictment against me. It was in Lettish. But the translation read that I was in contact with the local Communists and some other such "terrible" things. I refused to sign the silly paper. I was then told I would be questioned the next day. Meanwhile, I was held incommunicado, so were Sasha and Shapiro. The next day we were questioned, each separately, of course. I was accused of being a Bolshevik agent on a secret propaganda mission, etc., etc. But the young man who questioned me himself said that he thinks it was all a mistake and that we would surely be released after Christmas. Unfortunately Xmas is a three day Holiday here. So we had to remain in our cells until Wed. On that day we had another hearing. We were told that while our documents (we had some letters, and other things with us) proved that we were anarchists and intended to attend the anarchist Congress in Berlin, they showed somehow that we were Bolshevik agents on some secret mission, bound. Still it was suspicious that we were given passports when no ordinary mortal can get out of Russia, also that we stopped at one of the Bolshevik places. He explained that while we have passports they carry with them no protection whatever and that while we had been living in one of the Bolshevik houses, it was not due to the hospitality of the Soviet representatives, but to a friend who himself was not a Bolshevik. The result was we were set free on Thursday.

We had been so thoroughly kidnapped that even the Riga press knew nothing about it. Still less the two or three friends we have in Riga, and we ourselves did not know that we were kept in the building right next to the very Soviet house we had been

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 31, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (government transcript)] / Em[ma Goldman].— 3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

living for three weeks in -vekas rooms. The experience cost us a loss of a week, about \$50 and no end of anxiety, not to speak of the aching bones. We slept on bare boards for a week.

I suppose the dear Communists in and out of Russia will not say "see in Soviet Russia you were unmolested. No sooner do you get to a bourgeois country, you are again being persecuted". What these zealots do not know is this, that it is the unfortunate Soviet passport which has already and will make our lives impossible. It is bad enough to travel under our own names, but to travel on Soviet passports is like being afflicted with leprosy, the tragic part is, the bourgeois look askance and antagonistic the moment they see your passport. Then too we are between two fires, our passports are probably the first of their kind - they carry with them absolutely no protection of any sort. On the other hand, we are exposed to the suspicion of everybody outside Russia. Now, we naturally do not want protection, we know before hand when we refused to give guarantee of loyalty - guaranter, who may afterwards be held as hostage - we know then that the Soviet Government would throw us on the "good will" of the world. So there we are - sure to be tossed about on the waves of the general stupidity and madness. We're starting the New Year nicely. Do you not think?

If all goes well, we leave here Monday for Haval - then on Wednesday for Stockholm. We will have lost ten days of our month's stay in Sweden before we get there. No doubt we will be able to get a postponement, for how long I cannot say. At least we have friends here. But it is absolutely certain as I have already written you several times, we'll have to get other papers or be returned to Russia. The last would indeed be dreadful - if the Bolsheviks would take us back. But it is absolutely certain they will not. They gave us passports only because they wanted to get rid of us and that was the easiest way out. It was torture enough to see the Russian Revolution slowly done to death by the idiotic blunders and inefficient experiments of a handful of dictators. To see the new Bourgeoisie rise on the ruins of the grave of the Revolution. To see it grow more arrogant, and cruel day by day, is more than I could stand. No, I couldn't return to Russia. I must find another way out of our present dilemma. We'll see when we get to Stockholm.

Dearest min, I had a letter from Moscow. Nellie and the boys have arrived. They came the 15th. Think they passed Riga and we did not know it. Our friends write us that Nellie came with "open eyes" but is already stung to the quick by everything she sees, as if the most vivid idea of what is going on in Russia, what reaction - what collapse of everything the Revolution was fought for and compare next the reality. Oh, Stella mine, it is

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 31, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (government transcript)] / Em[ma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

crucially bitter to see the loftiest hopes of a people dragged through the mire. It is so tragic that life for those who saw it all must lose all its meaning. If I did not think that I must at least make our own comrades the world over see what I have seen, I would not consider it worth while to live. But I feel that I must speak and whether I will be heard or not. I must speak out. When and where and how? I cannot say now. I am starting the New Year with nothing firm under my feet. Somehow, I will pull out of the uncertainty.

Dearest, I am not at all in the right mood for a New Years letter, but I did not want this last year to pass without writing you. Do not worry about me, dearest, things will adjust themselves. Let Fittie and our other friends read this letter. It will save me repetition. Tell Fittie I love her very much and think of her constantly. I wish fervently that the New Year may bring her together with Sasha and that they may find peace and joy in each other. Give my affection - ate New Years greeting to all our friends, Leonard Abbott and Rose, Stewart Kerr, Van Valkenburgh, Harry R. Ellen Kessen, Mawina Behre, Sahleg Miller. Little Dorothy M., the Gleason. All, all my friends I wish a pleasant and joyous New Year. The same to dear Miller and Pipele. M. must be back, embrace him for me. I am writing Moe and the Rochester folk. Darling, I held you close in a fond embrace. I hug our own Ish, I kiss Teddy warmly. May the New Year bring you joy and may we be together again, if only for a little while. Devotedly and with deep love. Your Em.

I am waiting to hear from dear H. J. I hope I will find a letter when I reach Sweden as Hogker will forward my mail. Give H. J. my New Years greetings.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, between 1922 and 1924, Berlin? to] Mark [Mratchny] / Emma [Goldman].—
1 p. ; 20 × 24 cm.

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Дорогой Марк
 Я очень хочу узнать
 как обстоят дела на твоем месте
 и как дела, особенно если
 и там работы много с
 более приятными условиями
 Да мне кажется что-то
 и нужно
 Я очень люблю
 Ой, не знаю
 Как дела

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The Emma Goldman Papers

831130009

[Letter, 1922? Berlin? to Michael? A.? Cohn?, New York? (fragment)] / Emma [Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

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travelling salesmen of the Russian revolution. They are more responsible than the bolsheviks themselves for the lies and dissipations about Russia.

I was awfully glad to hear that the "G.A.S.T." is getting on its feet again. Needless to say we were all shocked when we heard of the fire. . . It would be a sad commentary to the radical jewish population of America if such a paper were permitted to die. . . It is dreadful enough that there are no people to issue an English publication.

Well, dear comrade, if you were here there would be a great deal to talk about. But one cannot say the things one feels in a letter. I do hope you can come over this fall for a visit. We both need you very much.

Remember me to Jim and Jessie affectionately and to all the comrades.

Devotedly

Emma

P.S. Please do not discuss the Harper publication for the present, as I do not know whether the matter is final.

German Menagrapers are a good lot.

The Emma Goldman Papers

890126051

[Letter?, 1922 Jan.? Vienna to Emma Goldman, Stockholm] / [Max Nettlau].—
2 p. ; 6 × 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.*

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414

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter?, 1922 Jan.? Vienna to Emma Goldman, Stockholm] / [Max Nettlau].—
2 p.; 6 × 14 cm.

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1922
10/3 Sunday
19/3 Reached F.A.V.E.L.
2nd of Feb. 1922, at 20, 31, 2nd
by C.
20/3 9th for Paul G. M. / Jan. 15-15
9th Feb. 10 words: — success. they wire order
today. was. Stockholm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

13765

Stockholm den Jan 6th 1922

Dearest. I called you yesterday
that we arrived safely. I hope
you received it. I can well imagine
how anxious you must have been
in all ways. I quite enjoyed
Riga. But they were decided
much publicity. We reported
can report who did here
Here is certainly no escape
day on landing here we spied
so enough. They were here
without an interview. No
any, anyway.

to catch you from Riga. But they were decided it
might cause too much publicity. We recognized
him as the American reporter who did kill
you without us. There is certainly no escape
from them. Yesterday on landing here we spied
two reporters. I was enough, they were here
but we got away without an interview. No
doubt they called our, originally

It was glad to get into a civilized
city & meet our comrades who are free
to meet & do their work. They are most
hospitable and eager to make us com-
fortable. They tell us that we can absolutely
count on having our visa renewed for 3-4
months, or even longer. But in some cases
not at any rate. The only trouble is, living
is terribly high here, I think almost as
high as at home. Think of it a pair of
decent shoes cost 35, shoes, all most
10. Still, we will probably remain long enough
here to write about Russia. For the
present we are at the guest hotel. If we
stay we will get a little furnished but
two women & children
is crazy to get to Germany. As

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927045

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 6, Stockholm [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 29 x 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

usual, he is attracted by the conspiratorial
phase of it. One dear I haven't learned until
this day! But his conspiracies never succeed.
The situation in E is this, we can go to live there
only under assumed names. That would not
be of importance if every European city were
not teeming with American news papers
men. As it is, we're sure to be recognized.
And then we'd be in a pickle. Even too it
means being condemned to silence. Now, while
here too, we could take no part in the
life of the country, still not knowing the
language it would not be so bad. Where
to keep continuous silence in Germany
never to protest against the reaction
here would be beyond my power.
It would mean the same mental agony
as in R. I can't tell you, dearest how
worn out I am with it all. However
I can only play & live from day
to day. I am almost certain though
that any rule will remain here & begin
to waste.

I learned last night that H K is
in Berlin. You can imagine my sur-
prise. We hoped him & spring him to
come here if at all possible. Can it be
that he has nothing from you for
me, or from H W? He comrades up to
brought me Max's letter from Berlin
and nothing from H K. I do hope.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927045

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 6, Stockholm [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman].— 4 p.; 29 x 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Hotell Turry

13769

Byggarogatan 3
Stockholm

Stockholm den

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Tonst. Fredriksson
Riksst. Sammanst. Hotell Turry
Allm. Tel. N:o 3 12

De can come over here
I suggest to take over matter
with him. I would so like to have the
American matter settled, one way or the
other.

How contradictory life is. I always
used to yearn for chance of leisurely
traveling through Europe. Not to
have to keep dates or to stay in a city.
And now I am weighed with
the uncertainty of our existence. Of
course, travel is still now, one can not
make a step without reporting to
the police, or getting visas, and with
our names & our present passport.
There are very few places we can
go to, so the thing is being longed for all
my life is poisoned by the present
world's conditions. Now, I can not stand
our dependence. It is so long since
I had to depend on others. I. is not
particularly worried by such matters
as never was, you know. But I feel
it most painfully.

Dearest, I wrote you once before
about Publishers & Magazines. As you

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927045

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 6, Stockholm [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 29 x 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13768
we free now not I am at school you must
act as my representative. I gave up some
of the Publishers in regard to my book
by Russia. Also some of the Magazine
about articles. I wish we could do our
own publishing. I wish I could keep
my work and free from commercialism
altogether. But our old facilities for
circulating our books are gone, so
I will have to look for others to do the
publishing. I am rather curious to know
if any Publisher will take anything
from us. I hope you will let me know
soon.

Now I wish we were together and
you could help me with the typing and
correction. I will be busy with it soon.
Here are other reasons why I should
not like to burden him. But you, my
own are far away and I have no hope
of seeing you for a long time to
come. Perhaps I can find a ^{competent} typewriter
here. You send your best to the look over
I must first get settled in some place.
Dear Carl was here ~~last~~ ^{last} week.
But we were in the Rega jail then.
We are sending for him. He seems
to be very hard up. It will be good
to see him.

Much love to your darling
Wrote us to Albert Green. Devotedly E
Helene's gotten 25 B. St. New City

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 6, Stockholm [to Rudolf Grossmann, Klosterneuburg, Austria] /
 Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Pierre Ramus Archive.

My dear Comrade,
 I got your address from Jan. 6. 1922
 yesterday. It is so long ago, ages & ages ago, that I was in a position to write you. In fact since 1914 I did not know where you were, and how you could be reached. And the last four years I was in an American prison in the great prison - Russia. I was not in a position to write even if I had known how to reach you. But now, I will delay no longer.
 Strange as it may seem, we were ordered to leave Russia. We were ordered to leave. I think the demand which our German comrades made on the Soviet Government that we should be permitted to leave, had some thing to do with it. Or maybe the Soviet Government wanted to get rid of us. I don't know any more we were given passports. But they are of a kind which carry no protection from the Soviet Government and expose us to the tender mercies of all other Eastern men. But we are names with marks and lines from you are most difficult.
 Our first experience was with Germany. Big comrades there tried everything to obtain a visa for us. But we were refused. Fortunately Comrade Yensen of this city succeeded with his attempt. So after waiting in Riga for 3 weeks we started out for Sweden. We were however kidnapped by the Latvian secret service in true American fashion. By means of the train pulled out from the Riga station we were placed under arrest. Taken off the train & kept for a week as hostages. When we were released to go on the second we again started out for Sweden. This time we arrived safely yesterday morning.
 I hope you will be able to reach us soon.

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[Letter] 1922 Jan. 6, Stockholm [to Rudolf Grossmann, Klosterneuburg, Austria] /
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My dear Rudolf, I was not in a position to read your letter. I had no paper and to write now, I will delay no longer. Strange as it may seem, we were longer allowed to leave Russia. We were ourselves surprised. I think the demand made on our German comrades made an exception for us. But we should be permitted to leave, and some thing to do with it. Or maybe the Soviet Government wanted to get rid of us. I don't know. Anyhow we were given passports. But they are of a kind which carry no protection. I trust the Soviet Government and express our tender mercies to all other German men. But our names will mark our lives from now on most difficult.

Our first experience was with Germany. Our comrades here tried everything to obtain a visa for us. But we were refused. Fortunately Comrade Jensen of this city succeeded with Braatung. So after waiting in Riga for 3 weeks we started out for Sweden. We were however kidnapped by the Latvian Secret Service in true American fashion. The manager of the train pulled out from the Riga station we were placed under arrest. Taken off the train & kept for a week as Bolshevik agents. Then we were released to go on the second we again started out for Sweden. This time we arrived safely, yesterday morning.

Our visa is valid for 2 1/2 months. The comrades think it will be easy to renew it & to keep on doing so for 3-4 months or even longer. But that will give us a chance to write our impressions on Russia. But what after that? We must already look about for a place where we can turn to after

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we will have to leave here. What do you
 think about the chances in Vienna? Could
 we obtain visas to come there? I wish
 you would write as soon. If possible
 make your inquiries unofficially. I
 do not want it to become known that
 we may have to come to Vienna. It
 will have to be as a last resort. But
 we would like to know if we could
 count on it.

Life is terribly expensive here. But
 the movement is interesting. Is there any
 thing of a movement in Vienna. We
 may not be able to participate even
 if we should be permitted to come
 to Vienna, still and before we have
 the pulse of activities, at least we want
 to take an indirect part. Our type of
 enforced silence in Russia has been
 such mental & spiritual torture
 that I should prefer death if I had
 to face such a situation again. So
 you must write us openly about
 the possibilities for us in Vienna.
 Please do so soon.

Cam Yensen also thanked me your
 kind tribute to me. Of course, I cannot
 read Finnish. But I can see it
 is well put together. Could you not
 let us have a letter at the moment?
 At any rate I thank you for your
 kind letter.

Do you see Cam Yensen? Remember
 me to him. He is a very nice man.
 I am very much interested in him.
 I am very much interested in him.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 6, Stockholm [to Rudolf Grossmann, Klosterneuburg, Austria] /
 Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.
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do not want it to become known. I
 will have to be as a last resort. But
 we would like to know if we could
 count on it.

Life is terribly expensive here. But
 the movement is interesting. Is there any
 thing of a movement in Vienna. We
 may not be able to participate even
 if we should be permitted to come
 to Vienna, still one prefers to be near
 the pulse of activities, at least we want
 to take an indirect part. Our two year
 enforced silence in Russia has been
 such mental & spiritual torture
 that I should prefer death if I had
 to face such a situation again. So
 you must write us openly about
 the possibilities for us in Vienna.
 Please do so soon.

Cam Jensen also thanked me your
 kind tribute to me. Of course, I cannot
 read Swedish. But I can see it
 is well put together. Could you not
 let us have a copy of the original?
 At any rate, I thank you for your
 kindness.

Do you see Cam Nohlan? Remember
 me to him most affectionately. Tell him
 I want very much to see him. Tell him
 Scarpino is here & also would love to
 see him again. So does Com. Berkman.

And your dear comrades, how are you
 and your family? Are you still publishing
 your paper? Write us a long letter and
 very soon. You can address me either
 to Brand, or Albert Johnson. I shall be glad to
 hear from you. I shall be glad to hear from you.
 25. 10. 22. Stockholm. Sincerely, Emma Goldman
 Com. Berkman, Scarpino & Byström

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 7, Stockholm [to] Freedom, London / Alexander Berkman [and] Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.

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FREEDOM.

January, 1922.

FREEDOM.

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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BOLSHEVIKS SHOOTING ANARCHISTS.

We have just received the following letter from our comrades Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who are now stranded in Stockholm. This letter gives us the truth about the terrible persecution of Anarchists in Russia. We ask all Anarchist and Syndicalist papers to republish this letter, and we hope comrades in this country will help us in pushing the sale of this issue, of which we have printed a much larger number than usual.

DEAR COMRADES,—The persecution of the revolutionary elements in Russia has not abated with the changed political and economic policies of the Bolsheviks. On the contrary, it has become more intense, more determined. The prisons of Russia, of Ukraina, of Siberia, are filled with men and women—aye, in some cases with mere children—who dare hold views that differ from those of the ruling Communist Party. We say “hold views” advisedly. For in the Russia of to-day it is not at all necessary to *express* your dissension in word or act to become subject to arrest; the mere *holding* of opposing views makes you the legitimate prey of the *de facto* supreme power of the land, the Tcheka, that almighty Bolshevik Okhrana, whose will knows neither law nor responsibility.

But of all the revolutionary elements in Russia it is the Anarchists who now suffer the most ruthless and systematic persecution. Their suppression by the Bolsheviks began already in 1918, when—in the month of April of that year—the Communist Government attacked, without provocation or warning, the Anarchist Club of Moscow and by the use of machine guns and artillery “liquidated” the whole organisation. It was the beginning of Anarchist hounding, but it was sporadic in character, breaking out now and then, quite planless, and frequently self-contradictory. Thus, Anarchist publications would now be permitted, now suppressed; Anarchists arrested here only to be liberated there; sometimes shot and then again importuned to accept most responsible positions. But this chaotic situation was terminated by the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, in April, 1921, at which Lenin declared open and merciless war not only against Anarchists but against “all petty bourgeois Anarchist and Anarcho-Syndicalist tendencies” wherever found. It was then and there that began the systematic, organised, and most ruthless extermination of Anarchists in Bolshevik-ruled Russia. On the very day of the Lenin speech scores of Anarchists, Anarcho-Syndicalists, and their sympathisers were arrested in Moscow and Petrograd, and on the following day wholesale arrests of our comrades took place all over the country. Since then the persecution has continued with increasing violence, and it has become quite apparent that the greater the compromises the Communist régime makes with the capitalist world, the more intense its persecution of Anarchism.

It has become the settled policy of the Bolshevik Government to mask its barbaric procedure against our comrades by the uniform charge of *banditism*. This accusation is now made practically against *all* arrested Anarchists, and frequently even against mere sympathisers with our movement. A mighty convenient method, for by it *any one* may be secretly executed by the Tcheka, without hearing, trial, or investigation.

Lenin's warfare against Anarchist tendencies has assumed the

most revolting Asiatic form of extermination. Last September numerous comrades were arrested in Moscow, and on the 30th of that month the *Izvestia* published the official statement that *ten* of the arrested Anarchists had been shot “as bandits.” None of them had received a trial or even a hearing, nor were they permitted to be represented by counsel or be visited by friends or relatives. Among the executed were two of the best-known Russian Anarchists, whose idealism and lifelong devotion to the cause of humanity had stood the test of Tsarist dungeons and exile, and persecution and suffering in various other countries. They were Fanny Baron, who had escaped from prison in Ryazan several months previously, and Lev Tchorny, the popular lecturer and writer, who had spent many years of his life in the Siberian *katorga* for his revolutionary activities under the Tsars. The Bolsheviks did not have the courage to say that they had shot Lev Tchorny; in the list of the executed he appeared as “Turchaninoff,” which—though his real name—was unknown even to some of his closest friends.

The policy of extermination is continuing. Several weeks ago more arrests of Anarchists took place in Moscow. This time it was the Universalist Anarchists who were the victims—the group which even the Bolsheviks had always considered most friendly to themselves. Amongst the arrested were also Askaroff, Shapiro,* and Stitzenko, members of the Secretariat of the Moscow section of the Universalists, and well known throughout Russia. These arrests, outrageous as they were, were at first considered by the comrades as due to the unauthorised action of some over-zealous Tchekist agent. But information has since been received that our Universalist comrades are officially accused of being bandits, counterfeiters, Makhnovtsy, and members of the “Lev Tchorny underground group.” What such an accusation means is known only too well to those familiar with Bolshevik methods. It means *vástréi*, execution by shooting, without hearing or warning.

The fiendishness of the purpose of these arrests and accusations is almost beyond belief. By charging Askaroff, Shapiro, Stitzenko, and others with “membership in the Lev Tchorny underground group,” the Bolsheviks seek to justify their foul murder of Lev Tchorny, Fanny Baron, and the other comrades executed in September; and, on the other hand, to create a convenient pretext for shooting more Anarchists. We can assure the readers unreservedly and absolutely that *there was no Lev Tchorny underground group*. The claim to the contrary is an atrocious lie, one of the many similar ones spread by the Bolsheviks against the Anarchists with impunity.

It is high time that the revolutionary Labour movement of the world took cognizance of the blood and murder régime practised by the Bolshevik Government upon all politically differently minded. And it is for the Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists, in particular, imperative to take immediate action toward putting a stop to such Asiatic barbarism, and to save, if still possible, our imprisoned Moscow comrades threatened with death. Some of the arrested Anarchists are about to declare a hunger strike to the death, as their only means of protest against the Bolshevik attempt to outrage the memory of the martyred Lev Tchorny after they had foully done him to death. They demand the moral support of their comrades at large. They have the right to demand this, and more. Their sublime self-sacrifice, their lifelong devotion to the great cause, their unswerving steadfastness, all entitle them to it. Comrades, friends, everywhere! It is for you to help vindicate the memory of Lev Tchorny and at the same time save the precious lives of Askaroff, Shapiro, Stitzenko, and others. Do not delay or it may be too late. Demand from the Bolshevik Government the alleged Lev Tchorny documents they pretend to have, which “involve Askaroff, etc., in the Lev Tchorny group of bandits and counterfeiters.” *Such documents do not exist, unless they be forgeries*. Challenge the Bolsheviks to produce them, and let the voice of every honest revolutionist and decent human being be raised in world-wide protest against the continuance of the Bolshevik system of foul assassination of its political opponents. Make haste, for the blood of our comrades is flowing in Russia.

(Signed) ALEXANDER BERKMAN.
EMMA GOLDMAN.

Stockholm, January 7, 1922.

[In our next issue we will publish another letter from Emma Goldman, dealing with the bomb incident at Moscow, which was the subject of a letter in our issue of October last.]

* Not our London comrade, A. Shapiro, of *Golos Truda*.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 8, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna (fragment)] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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Dear Comrade,
I have been thinking of you for a long time in many ways.
You are able to write to me at last. I have been
so, and I have begun to swallow up the
important inhabitants of the world. I
thought of you, dear comrade, you who
so bravely fought the monster power
all your life only in the end to be caught
in its devouring claws. I wondered where
you were and how you were faring.
I did not know how to reach you.
A few months ago, in Moscow,
I got word of your address. But to write
from that colonial democratic fortress
was quite impossible. Since we escaped
here, we were fortunate to get word
of freedom in 1921. I was so glad to
see many other contributors, your
name and that you are as ever
your same old self. Not many of the
old guard, who have gone to the
the purgatory of the past 8 years, have
joined their integrity to their faith in
their ideas. I am glad you dear comrade
have not. I congratulate you.
You may have heard before this
reaches you that we are out of Russia
much to our own surprise. We were
granted passports. Perhaps if we had
applied sooner we would have been
able to leave Russia a year ago. Although
it is only since the new scandalous
policy of Lenin that the Russian Govern-
ment no longer cares for revolutionary

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890126050

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 8, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna (fragment)] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

...chance of doing the right thing
...to remember that for a long
...there is such a possibility. I do
...not think official application must
...to be made. Our only danger in Europe
...spoiled our chances to get there through
...their advice that we should apply
...officially. This must not be repeated
...in Vienna. If you see any danger, any
...connection, with the people of the United
...States, or anyone who has influence
...it is necessary to address yourselves
...to these people. A year ago I was
...told by an American, a communist, that
...that Vienna is the best city in Europe
...to live in. I do not believe
...in such fairy tales. Still I should like
...to know from you, dear comrades,
...how you feel in this, we might
...like to settle in Vienna for a time.
...We want to write extensively on
...Russia. If possible I should like
...to lecture on the same subject.
...If we can not find a liberal subject
...in America, we may publish our work
...ourselves, and send them to America for
...circulation. But see that we must be
...where we could do it deeply. We want
...to reach the workers of course and
...that we can only do if we make our
...publications accessible to them. Do
...you see that there are many considerations

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 8, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna (fragment)] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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Vienna
My dear Max,
I have just received your letter of the 1st inst. and am so glad to hear from you. The des-
cription of the conditions of our comrades in
Russia, our dear friend Comrade Leo
the Russian revolution, the lesson of
the Russian revolution, so many dirt
working and heart breaking subjects,
and I would like to read of your
experiences. I can well imagine what
you have endured. Perhaps we may
meet in the near future, I dare so
presently. Meanwhile we must keep
in touch through letters, so you must
write soon.
Comrade Berkman is staying in
with me. He later intends to visit
you soon. Meanwhile both wish
to be remembered kindly. As for
myself, I have not forgotten your
kindness of many years ago and the
interesting time spent together. We did
not know then to what extent man can
be indulgent to his brother.
My address for the present is
Alfred Jensen, 25 B.
St. Stockholm. Truly, Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 19]22 Jan. 9, Stockholm [to] Max Net[t]lau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].
 — 1 p. ; 10 × 21 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890317162

[Letter, 1922 Jan. 9, Stockholm to John? Turner?, London (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. - 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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DEAR CONRAD: The persecution of the revolutionary elements in Russia has not abated with the changed political and economic policies of the Bolsheviks. On the contrary, it has become

~~more systematic and more determined.~~
The prisons of Russia, of Moscow, of Siberia, are filled with men and women - yes, in some cases even with mere children - who have held views that differ from those of the ruling Communist party. We say "held views" advisedly. For in the Russia of today it is not at all necessary to express your dissension in word or act to become subject to arrests. The mere holding of opposing views makes you the legitimate prey of the de facto tyrannical power of the land, the Tcheka, that sinister Bolshevik Chamberlain, whom no law nor responsibility.

But of all the revolutionary elements of Russia it is the Anarchists who now suffer the most ruthless and systematic persecution. Their suppression by the Bolsheviks began as early as 1918 when - in the month of April of that year - the Communist government attacked, without provocation or warning, the Anarchist Club of Moscow and by the use of machine guns and artillery "liquidated" the whole organization. It was the beginning of Anarchist hunting, but it was sporadic in character, breaking out now and then, but quite planless and frequently self-contradictory. Thus Anarchist publications would now be permitted, now suppressed; Anarchists arrested here only to be liberated there, sometimes shot and then again implored to accept most responsible positions. But this chaotic situation was terminated by the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, in April 1921, at which Lenin himself declared open and merciless war against not only Anarchists but against "all petty bourgeois Anarchist and Anarcho-syndicalist tendencies" wherever found. It was then and there that began the systematic, organized and most ruthless extermination of Anarchists in Bolshevik-ruled Russia. On the very day of the Lenin speech scores of Anarchists, Anarcho-syndicalists and their sympathizers were arrested in Moscow and Petrograd, and on the following day wholesale arrests of our comrades took place all over the country. Since then the persecution has continued with increasing violence, and it has become quite apparent that the greater the compromises the Communist regime makes with the capitalistic world, the more intense its persecution of Anarchism.

It has become the settled policy of the Bolshevik government to mask its barbaric procedure against our comrades by the uniform charge of banditism. This accusation is now made publicly against all arrested Anarchists, and frequently even against mere sympathizers with our movement. A mighty convenient method, for by it any one may be secretly executed by the Tcheka, without hearing, trial or investigation.

Lenin's warfare against Anarchist tendencies has assumed the most revolting Asiatic form of extermination. Last September numerous comrades were arrested in Moscow, and on the 30th of that month the "Izvestia" published the official statement that any of the arrested Anarchists had been shot "as bandits". None of them had received a trial or even a hearing, nor were they permitted to be represented by counsel or be visited by friends or relatives. Among the executed were two of the best known Russian Anarchists, whose idealism and life-long devotion to the cause of humanity had stood the test of the most dangerous and arduous, and suffering in various other countries. They were Isaac Aaron, who had escaped from prison in Russia several months previously, and Lev Tolstoy, the popular lecturer and writer, who had spent many years of his life in the Siberian prisons for his revolutionary activities under the Tsar. The Bolsheviks did not have the courage to say that they had shot Lev Tolstoy in the face of the world; he is reported as "executed", which - though the difference - was made even to some of his closest friends.

The policy of extermination is continuing. Rev-

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time it was the Universalist-Anarchists who were the victims, - the group which even the Bolsheviks had always considered most friendly to themselves. Among the arrested were also Askareff, Shapiro and Stitsenko, members of the Secretariat of the Moscow section of the Universalists and well known throughout Russia. These arrests, outrageous as they were, were at first considered by the comrades as due to the unauthorized action of some over-sensitive tsarist agent. But information has since been received that our Universalist comrades are officially accused of being bandits, counterfeiters, Hukimovtsy, and members of the "Lev Tchorny underground group". What such an accusation means is known only too well to those familiar with Bolshevik methods. It means razstril, execution by shooting, without hearing or warning.

The fiendishness of the purpose of these arrests and accusations is almost beyond belief. By charging Askareff, Shapiro, Stitsenko et al. with "membership in the Lev Tchorny underground group" the Bolsheviks seek to justify their foul murder of Lev Tchorny, Fanny Baron and the other comrades executed in September; and, on the other hand, to create a convenient pretext for shooting more Anarchists. We can assure the readers unreservedly and absolutely that there was no Lev Tchorny underground group. The claim to the contrary is an atrocious lie, one of the many similar ones spread by the Bolsheviks against the Anarchists with impunity.

It is high time that the revolutionary labor movement of the world take cognizance of the blood and murder regime practised by the Bolshevik government upon all politically differently minded. And it is for the Anarchists and Anarcho-syndicalists, in particular, imperative to take immediate action toward putting a stop to such Asiatic barbarism, and to save, if still possible, our imprisoned Moscow comrades threatened with death. Some of the arrested Anarchists are about to declare a hunger strike to the death, as the only means of protest against the Bolshevik attempt to outrage the memory of the martyred Lev Tchorny after they had foully done him to death. They demand the moral support of their comrades at large. They have ~~survived~~ the right to demand this, and more. Their sublime self-sacrifice, their life-long devotion to the great cause, their unswerving steadfastness, all entitle them to it. Comrades, friends, everywhere! It is for you to help vindicate the memory of Lev Tchorny and at the same time save the precious lives of Askareff, Shapiro, Stitsenko et al. Do not delay, or it may be too late. Demand from the Bolshevik government the alleged Lev Tchorny documents they pretend to have, which "involve Askareff etc. in the Lev Tchorny group of bandits and counterfeiters". Such documents do not exist, unless they be forgeries. Challenge the Bolsheviks to produce them, and let the voice of every honest revolutionist and decent human being be raised in world-wide protest against the continuance of Bolshevik system of foul assassination of its political opponents. Make haste, for the blood of our comrades is flowing in Russia.

* Not our London comrade A. Shapiro, of "Golos Truda".

SIGNED:

Alexander Berkman

Emma Goldman

Stockholm
January 7, 1922

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870927038

[Letter] 1922 January 9, Stockholm [to John? Turner?, London] / Emma Goldman.
— 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
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13741

STOCKHOLM, Jan. 9, 1922.

Dear Comrade,

We are out of the great prison - Russia - five weeks. But I still find it most difficult to adjust myself to the outside world. All prisoners who have been confined for a long time feel that way. To be sure we were in Russia only two years. But the events which crowded in upon me during that period made each day a long, painful time of hope and despair during which one could not write the things one felt, or read the things one wanted to know. One could only be a mute observer of the greatest tragedy in human history - the slow and torturous death of the Russian Revolution. I hope soon to have gotten hold of myself sufficiently to write about that cataclysm.

Since our arrival here I saw for the first time in many years some copies of "Freedom" - the file of ~~XXXX~~ 1921. I congratulate you on the splendid work you are doing - especially on your stand against the persecution of our comrades in Russia. I am enclosing a copy of a statement on the subject. From Riga we sent a similar article to Rocker. Perhaps you have received a copy of that too. If you have not already published that one, please publish the one enclosed. This statement should silence once for all the foolish denials of the Communists outside of Russia of the doings of their Holy Church. Not that I blame them. I know from personal experience how difficult it is to throw off the hold of a delusion that the Russian Revolution and the Bolsheviks are synonymous. I fought bitterly and desperately many months before I could realize the terrific falsehood foisted upon the world. And I was close enough to the working of the Jesuit Order. So I do not blame the enthusiasts who so strenuously resent any criticism of the Bolsheviks. A life does not think of how long the Christian lie has been dying. Let us hope it will not take so long for the lie to die which confuses the spirit of the Russian Revolution with the State machine which has crushed that spirit. No, I do not blame the sincere enthusiasts who see from afar the glories of the Russian Government. But no words can express my contempt for those who have been in Russia - have had the opportunity to see things as they are, and who either did not want to see - or seeing continued silence after they got out of Russia. No wonder the hosts of delegates who came into Russia to be royally entertained by the Government and at the expense of the Russian people are so hated by the people. They justly see in the blind dupes of the Government who eagerly lap up every official statement as gospel truth. Later I mean to pay my respects to these men and women who so shamefully betray both the workers in Russia and in their countries. Now I wish to reply to the letter in "Freedom" of October, "Anarchist Prisoners in Russia".

I do not know who Mr Harry Pollitt is. He was certainly not very conspicuous at the Red Trade Union Congress - if he was in Moscow at all. I do not know whether he was actually shown "a letter purporting to come direct from the anarchists, glorying in the fact of aiding the counter-revolutionaries, and also claiming credit for throwing this particular bomb". I only know that if he was actually shown such a letter he was shown a dastardly forgery. The henchmen of the Bolshevik government, the Tcheka - have and still are shooting people for less than throwing a bomb. Is it likely the Tcheka would have spared the Anarchists who were supposed to have thrown the bomb in 1919 and that it would go on keeping them in prison until Mr Pollitt's and Mr Tom Mann's arrival two years later. Right here it is well to point out that though the bomb was thrown after the most brutal repressions on the part of the Bolsheviks most of our comrades in Moscow and Petrograd came out in a strong protest against such methods. Why were Messrs Pollitt and Tom Mann not told of that protest?

The comrades in prison at the time of the Congress could certainly not have written a letter "glorying in having helped counter-revolutionaries or taking credit for that particular bomb". Granted however that Messrs Pollitt, Tom Mann, etc. were impressed by that ~~same~~ "letter", should they not have asked to see the imprisoned men? Even in capitalist countries it is customary to investigate both sides - to listen to the accused and not only the accusers. Yet here are so-called revolutionists Messrs Pollitt and Tom Mann - Mann who has on more than one occasion stood in the dock for his opinions - Mann the arch-enemy of politics and politicians. What do they do? They read a "letter" "purporting to come from the Anarchists" and "are absolutely satisfied" as to the guilt of the Anarch-

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13742

ists". What a monstrous outrage! But then Moscow has become the procurer of many so-called revolutionists. Why not Messrs Pollitt and Tom Mann?

One might be charitable to Mr Pollitt's lack of fairness but not to his lack of accuracy. He states that "he and others were elected as a visiting committee to the Anarchists, with full power to grant a free pardon to all those who promised to refrain from helping the counter-revolutionaries in future. Some promised and were granted their freedom". Not one word of this is true, except that Tom Mann was one of a Committee which never visited any prison.

Red Labor
 The episode that happened in Moscow during the Congress was, I believe, reported in some of our European papers. For the benefit of the readers of "Freedom", however, I will give a short resume. Our imprisoned comrades driven to desperation by long imprisonment and starvation decided upon a hungerstrike. The French, Spanish and Italian Anarcho-Syndicalists when informed of the decision promised to raise the question at an early session of the Congress. Some however suggested that the Government might be approached first. Thereupon a Committee was chosen with Tom Mann as one of its members to call upon the Little Father in the Kremlin. In passing he it said that Tom Mann had to be shamed in to taking part in the matter. As to Mr Pollitt, nobody knew of his existence. The Committee called on Lenin. It was told that the Anarchists would not be released as they were too dangerous. But that they would be given a chance to leave Russia. Should any one of them return he would be shot. The next day Lenin's statement was substantiated by a letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party and signed by Trotsky, reiterating what Lenin had said. Naturally the threat of being shot was omitted in the official letter.

the class
 Our comrades accepted the offer of deportation. They who had fought and bled for the Revolution preferred to become the Ahasverus of foreign lands to the slow mental and physical death in the Communist prisons. Thereupon two ~~English~~ comrades, Shapiro and Berkman, were added to the Committee of foreign delegates whose duty it was to negotiate with the Government about the release and deportation of our comrades. It is interesting to note here that neither Mr Pollitt or Tom Mann showed further interest or concern in the fate of our imprisoned comrades. It is not judicious to show interest in Anarchists when one is the guest of a Government - especially a Communist Government. The negotiations went on and the idea of a public protest at the Congress abandoned. Fancy then the amazement of everyone concerned when at the eleventh hour of the Congress, shortly before its closing, Bukharin, in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, launched into a scurrilous attack upon the Anarchists. Naturally the French, Spanish and Italian delegates, supported by many others, demanded the chance to reply - that demand was granted to Mr Sirolle only after every possible political trick on the part of the chairman, Losovsky, was used to sidetrack the demand for the floor. However, the sentiment for fair play was so great - supported by ~~many~~ some of the Communist sheep representing the very great labor movements of Palestine and other such industrial centres - that Sirolle was finally permitted to speak. I wonder why Mr Pollitt failed to say something about this very interesting incident. It might have thrown some light on the famous letter he was supposed to have seen.

Lest your readers think that the Government hastened to fulfill its promise of a speedy settlement of the case of our comrades, I wish to say that they were released only at the end of September - that some of them were dumped ~~out~~ upon the tender mercies of European Governments only late in November - and that some are still waiting to be deported, while their vacant places in prison were quickly filled by other comrades. Strange is it not? Even reactionary America does not dare to deport her native sons. The Russian Government dares to do such an outrageous thing because the enemies of the Russian Revolution and the friends of the Bolsheviks have confused the whole world about the Russian situation.

confidential
 About myself and my plans I cannot say much now. I want to write about Russia, if I can find a place where I might enjoy even a modicum of freedom. But with the whole world turned into a huge fortress one need not hope for much anywhere. Please send us "Freedom" and anything you may have published during the last few years. I would also like you to send "Freedom" of 1921 to the following address: Mrs N. Collas, Alexandrovskaya, 35, kv. 22, RIGA - they will get into Russia. Our people there are simply famished for news about the Anarchist movement in Europe. Please let me hear from you soon,

With kindest regards to all the comrades,
 Fraternally,

Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 12, Stockholm [to Rudolf Grossmann, Klosterneuburg, Austria] / Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman [and] A[lexander] Schapiro. — 2 p. ; 29 × 19 cm.
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IN THE PRISONS OF RUSSIA

Having but recently left Russia, we feel that our first and most urgent words must be spoken in behalf of our political prisoners in Russia.

It is a sad, heart-breaking commentary upon the situation in Russia to speak of political prisoners in the land of the Social Revolution! Not such is the fact, unfortunately. Nor do we refer to counter-revolutionists who might be, conceivably, prisoners of the Revolution. Inevitable as it may seem, the jails and prisons of Russia are today densely populated by the best revolutionary elements of the country, by men and women of the highest social ideals and aspirations. Throughout the whole vast country, in Russia proper as in Siberia, in the prisons of the old regime and in those of the new, in the incommunicado dungeons of the Yekaterinburg Otdel (Special Section) there languish revolutionaries of every party and movement: social-revolutionists of the left, maximalists, communist followers of the "labor opposition", anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists, and universalists, — adherents of various schools of social philosophy, but all of them true revolutionists and most of them enthusiastic participants in the November Revolution of 1917.

The position of these political prisoners is pitiable in the extreme. Not to speak of their mental anguish and suffering, the purely physical side of their existence is unspeakably miserable. Owing to the general conditions in Russia, the lack of building material and skilled labor, the repair of prisons is practically out of the question. The hygienic conditions are therefore, in the great majority of cases, of the most primitive character. But worst of all is the food problem. At no time during its existence has the Bolshevik government been able to supply sufficient food for its prisoners. Their rations did not cover the lowest possible minimum of bare existence. The actual support of the prisoners fell upon the shoulders of their friends, relatives and comrades. But now the situation has grown still worse. With only 52% of the ~~assessable~~ food-tax collected, and practically no prospects of collecting more, with the terrific famine in the Volga provinces, and with the general breakdown of the economic machinery of the government, the situation of the prison population is indeed a hopeless one.

The needs of the political prisoners in Russia are ministered to, to the extent of its naturally very limited possibilities, by the Political Red Cross of Russia, a very devoted and efficient organization, of which the famous old revolutionist Vera Figner is an active member. This organization, depending entirely on voluntary co-operation, has been eminently successful in its mission, considering how difficult it is for anyone in Russia to spare donations from his own very scanty rations. On the whole, however, the Political Red Cross has been able to supply the most absolute necessities of the political prisoners.

Of all, excepting the Anarchists. Not that the Red Cross wishes to discriminate. On the contrary, that organization is quite non-partisan, although sharply tinged with right-wing elements. For political reasons, therefore, the Anarchists of Russia had long ago initiated the policy of themselves ministering to the wants of their imprisoned comrades, and it has for years been the established custom for the Anarchist Red Cross (later known as the Black Cross) to take care of all Anarchists in Russian prisons. All along it has been a herculean task for the Russian Anarchists that were at liberty to look after the needs of their arrested comrades. Many of the most active spirits had laid down their lives in the Revolution, great numbers had died at the front defending the Revolution, while others had been shot or were languishing in Russian prisons. Most of those that still remained alive and out of prison were themselves constantly on the verge of arrest. The Black Cross had to exert vigilantly

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Ram

superhuman efforts to keep its incarcerated comrades from actually starving to death. It has accomplished most self-sacrificing, noble work.

But if its task till now has been hard and difficult, it has now become immeasurably so. The new policy of the Bolsheviks of systematically persecuting Anarchists is putting a fearful handicap on the work of the Relief Society. Most of its past members being in prison, the organization was seriously weakened and is now known as the Society for the Relief of Anarchists in Russian Prisons. It is desperately combating the work of giving what material aid it can muster to the imprisoned comrades. Unfortunately, its possibilities in that direction are most limited. The comrades at liberty are depriving themselves even of some necessities of life, in order to send a few more pounds of bread and of potatoes to the prisoners. They are willing, yes, glad, to donate their very last. But they have so little, and their comrades in prison are so many and their need so great! From the prisons of Moscow, of Petrograd, from Orel and Vladimir, from the distant provinces in the East, and from the comrades exiled to the frozen Siberian tundras news. The fearful scourge of starvation, the dreaded *golos smerti* (voice of death) is attacking them! Their hands and feet are swelling, their gums loosening... teeth falling out... decay setting in in the living body.....

Will the comrades at large give ear to the cry for help? The Anarchists of Russia are now utterly unable to supply even the most elementary wants of their prisoners without the assistance of the comrades and friends abroad. In the name of the SOCIETY FOR THE RELIEF OF ANARCHISTS IN RUSSIAN PRISONS, in the name of our martyred comrades now freezing and starving in the Bolshevik prisons, suffering for their loyalty to high ideals, we make this appeal to you, comrades and friends everywhere. Only your generous and immediate help can save our imprisoned comrades in Russia from death by starvation.

Fraternally,

Alexander Berkman
Delegate-at-large
SOCIETY FOR THE RELIEF OF
ANARCHISTS IN RUSSIAN PRISONS.

Emma Goldman

A Schapiro
Secretary, "Anarcho-Syndicalist
Union", "Golos Truda", Moscow

P.S. Only money donations are requested. Because of the low level of the Russian valuta, even the smallest amounts sent by friends from Europe or America will be very helpful. Send contributions to:

Redaction "Brand", R.A.P.O. - Ölandsgratan 48, Stockholm 4, Sweden.

NOTE: All Anarchist and Syndicalist publications are requested to publish this appeal.

STOCKHOLM, January 12, 1922.

Dear Comrades

Use above address for the Appeals, unless

in Berlin, J. A. Schapiro, Anarcho-Syndicalist Union, Golos Truda, Moscow

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435

Having but recently left Russia, we feel that our first and most urgent words must be spoken in behalf of our political prisoners in Russia.

The position of these political prisoners is pitiable in the extreme. Not to speak of their mental anguish and suffering, the purely physical side of their existence is unacceptably miserable. Owing to the general conditions in Russia, the lack of building material and skilled labor, the repair of prisons is practically out of the question. The hygienic conditions are therefore, in the great majority of cases, of the most primitive character. Not worst of all is the food problem. At no time during its existence has the Bolshevik government been able to supply sufficient food for its prisoners. Their rations did not cover the lowest possible minimum of bare existence. The actual support of the prisoners fell upon the shoulders of their friends, relatives and comrades. Not now the situation has grown still worse. With only 37% of the last harvest collected, and practically no prospects of collecting more, with the terrible famine in the Volga provinces, and with the general breakdown of the economic machinery of the government, the situation of the prison population is indeed a horrible one.

Of all, excepting the Anarchists. Not that the Red Guard wished to discriminate. On the contrary, that organization is quite non-partisan, although sharply tinged with right-wing elements. For political reasons, therefore, the Anarchists of Russia had long ago initiated the policy of themselves ministering to the wants of their imprisoned comrades, and it has for years been the established custom for the Anarchist Red Guard (later known as the Black Guard) to take care of all Anarchists in Russian prisons. All along it has been a glorious task for the Russian Anarchists that were at liberty to look after the needs of their arrested comrades. Many of the most active spirits had laid to a their lives in the Revolution, great numbers had died at the front defending the Revolution, while others had been caught or were being in Bolshevik prisons. Most of these men, who were the backbone of the Black Guard, were Anarchists. It was the Anarchists who provided the Black Guard with the most valuable assistance in the Revolution. It was the Anarchists who provided the Black Guard with the most valuable assistance in the Revolution. It was the Anarchists who provided the Black Guard with the most valuable assistance in the Revolution.

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[illegible]

Will the comrades in large give out to the big line below? The anarchists of Russia are now utterly unable to supply even the most elementary wants of their prisoners without the assistance of their comrades and friends abroad. In the name of the Russian FOR THE ARMY OF ANARCHISTS IN RUSSIAN PRISON, in the name of our martyred comrades now freezing and starving in the prison houses, appealing for their loyalty to high Russia, we now call upon you, comrades and friends everywhere. Only your generous and prompt help can save our imprisoned comrades in Russia from death by starvation.

Direct contributions to: Redaction ██████████ Brand, P.O.P.
Ölandsgratan 48
Stockholm 4 Sweden.

Only money donations are requested. Because of the low level of the Russian ruble, even the smallest amounts sent by friends from Europe or America will be very helpful.

Respectfully,

Alexander Berkman

SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INDIANS

Schapiro
Secretary, Claydon Syndicalist
Union, "Golden Trade"
Moscow

Emma Goldman

Notes: All Anarchist and Socialist publications are requested to publish this card.

S. Toerholm, Jan. 12, 1922

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927050

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 14, Stockholm [to Stella Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

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13781

Stockholm. Jan 14th. 1922.

My dearest. Yesterday I received Iana postal dated Xmas Day. By that time, in fact long before that, you should have had my last letter written in Russia wherein I told you we were leaving the same week. You should also have had my first letter written in Riga shortly after our arrival. Yet not a line from you all this time. What can be the matter? Now that we are out of R. and mail is not likely to be held up or lost, I really must ask you to write often, at least once a week. You can not imagine how famished we are, and how restlessly we look forward to word from you, by the way, the only one whose letters have reached us some time.

Inclosed you will find my first article on Russia. As I wrote Harris, I did not want to begin my work on Russia with the case of Spirdonova. But her case is so much on my mind and is so urgent it could not be postponed, so it has to be treated first. I can see since I came out of R. and had the chance to read some publications the terrible confusion created by the Russian situation, the confusion which maintains the lie that the Bolshivik Government and the Russian Revolution are synonymous. This is as much of a lie as the Christian lie which has confused Christ with the Christian church. I know it will take no end of patience and work to dispell that confusion now holding the enemies and the so called friends of the R. R in its grip. Under the circumstances I am very dubious whether any of the liberal publications and Publishers will care to bring anything we have to say. I know of course, that such papers as the World, or Chicago Tribune would grab up things. Their representatives have been after me in Riga and here. But of course I do not propose that they should have anything from me. Now the question is would the Nation, or the New Republic take articles? I can't say I am very eager about the New Republic. Its stand on the war is still ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ my bones. The Nation is the only decent Liberal Publication, too decent I fear to take my writings on Russia. You must see the Nation and let me know.

Inclosed is an article and a note to Harris. If nothing can be done with the Nation take it to Harris. Have an understanding with him about payment. I wish I did not have to consider money in connection with my Russian work. But I must consider that now, not only because life here is terribly high but because I want part of my earning to go to the relief of such cases as Spirdonova of which there are so many. Of course, even Harris may not want to take a free and frank critic of R. In that case give the article to the F. Arb. St. You must speak frankly to Dr C and the other comrades, you must tell them that we will have to ask remuneration for our work. You can imagine the difficulty of our position when I tell you that the daily Syndicalist paper here which has carried an appeal by us for our imprisoned and tortured comrades in Russia has to day been called up by the Sec. of Brantung. He informed the editors that it "it will be advisable for the Russians not too write much about Russia while they are here" The Russians are we. In other words the Bolshiviki who are about to be recognized by the rest of the Governments and who have befogged the whole world are already being protected by some governments so that it will almost be impossible to write critically about them. The Bolshivik lie is like the Christian lie cuppupting the whole world. And we who can not bow to this lie and who at the same time are condemned to roam the earth will be forced into silence. Well, that must never be. We have to devise something to create our own medium of expression somewhere in the world.

For the present we must remain here, there is no way out of it, since no other country will admit us under our own name. So we are stuck for the present. Will you therefore send me some of our stuff, my Essays, Drama, Sashas book and all the pamphlets, a dozen each of the latter, at least six copies each of the other. We may get that published in Swedish and have a little income by it. I wish I could also get a set of M E. but that is too much. Will write Carl to ask him to lend us his for the present. It costs 30 Kronen from Carl's place to Stockholm so he has not yet come in but he will soon.

I was surprised to learn that H M has come to Germany. I wired him to come on here. Have since had a letter that it was his intention to do so even before he had heard from me and that he is com

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[Letter] 1922 Jan. 17, Stockholm [to Rudolf Grossmann, Klosterneuburg, Austria] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

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Stockholm. Jan 17. 1922.

...v... haben wir erhalten. Ich fürchte Sie haben mei
nen Brief nicht recht verstanden. Vor Allem möchte ich Sie von dem
Gedanken befreien, dass wir, im Zustande des Pauperismus sind und unsern
Genossen zur Last fallen müssen. So weit sind wir glücklicher Weise
noch nicht. Als ich Ihnen schrieb, dass es hier fürchterlich teuer ist
zum Leben und dass wir schon deswegen irgend wohin müssen wo the valuta
nicht so hoch steht, wollte ich damit nicht sagen, dass wir von der Hül
fe der Genossen in Stockholm abhängig sind. Soweit sind wir ~~abhängig~~
~~abhängig~~. Nun ist es ja wahr, dass weder Berkman noch ich seit unserer
Deportation nach Russland ~~kein~~ Verdienst hatten, aber einige ganz intime
Americanische Freunde und Mitglieder meiner eigenen Familie haben dafür
gesorgt, dass wir gerade nicht hungern brauchten. Dieselben Freunde
stehen uns auch jetzt zur Seite. Sollten wir also wirklich nach Ostreich
kommen dann wäre es nicht nötig Ihnen und Ihrer Familie das Wenige zu
nehmen. Jedenfalls sind wir Ihnen und Ihrer Gefährtin herzlich dankbar
für Ihr Anerbieten.

Dass wir nicht als verkappte Geschäfts Reisende kommen
können das ist auch sehr klar. Unsere Namen sind zu bekannt dazu. Und
wenn wir schon unter angenommenen Namen kommen sollten, dann würden wir
natürlich Berlin, London oder Paris vorziehen. Nein, lieber Kamerad,
wenn man uns Einfahrt gewären soll, dann muss es unter unserm eigenen
Namen und eigener Marke sein. Nun ist es ja wahr, dass wir keine Absicht
haben uns in die Ostreichische Bewegung zu werfen, ~~sondern~~ ich zum Bei
spiel Deutsche gerade so geleufig spreche wie Englisch, und Alex über
haupt viel lieber schreibt als spricht. Nicht dass wir uns nicht in die
Ostreichische anarchistische Bewegung, wenn es überhaupt eine gibt,
interessieren. Für uns hat nur ~~keine~~ eine Frage Interesse jetzt, das ist
die Russische Revolution und ihre Lehren für die Anarchisten der Welt
und auch überhaupt für das Proletariat. Bis wir diese Aufgabe erfüllt
haben, konnten wir überhaupt nichts Anderes thun. Gewiss möchte ich das
Recht haben über diese Frage nicht nur zu schreiben, denn das konnte
mir nicht einmal die Tscheka verbieten, sondern auch das Geschriebene
erscheinen zu lassen, wieso auch darüber in öffentlichen Versammlungen
zu sprechen. Wenn man das nicht kann, dann können wir gerade so gut vor
leufig hier bleiben.

Genosse Netlau schreibt mir dass er in unsere Angelegen
heit schon einige unoffizielle Schritte gethan. Viel verspricht er sich
nicht davon, ~~unserer~~ da die S. D. den Communisten nicht feindlich gegen
über stehen, daher wohl alle Kritik gegen die Bolshiviki vermeiden
mühten. Wir wollen ja sehen. Jedenfalls bitte ich Sie lieber Ramus nichts
an unsere Sache zu thun bis wir von Genosse N. gehört haben. Es wird
gewisslich nur Konfusion wenn zwei Menschen ein und dieselbe Sache von
verschiedenen Seiten anfassen. Morgen sollen unsere Pässe wieder auf
einen Monat visiert werden. Die Genossen scheinen hier ganz sicher zu
sein dass es guth. Somit hat es mit Ostreich keine Eile.

~~Ich habe auch einige Briefe von Genosse N. erhalten, die mir sehr interessant sind.~~

Sie sind sehr naiv mit Ihrem Vorschlag, dass die Schwäbischen
Genossen (mit Brantung) auf den Vertreter von Austreich in Stockholm
wirken sollten. Wie kamen die dazu? Erstlich ist Brantung kein anarchist
sondern, ein S. D. Vertreter, der ja anständig genug wahr uns die Einfahrt
zu gewären. Aber man kann doch von ihm nicht erwarten dass er noch auf
Vertreter fremder Regierungen wirken soll. Zweitens, wenn die Genossen
das thun könnten dann wäre es doch viel logischer sie wirkten auf Brantung
uns überhaupt hier zu lassen. Ihr Vorschlag scheint mir also wirklich
sehr naiv.

We have seen one number of your paper containing part from A. B. C.
Memoirs. Please send us all the copies from the beginning, we want to read
your translation and have the German issue. We in return, will of course,
send you copies of anything we write for the anarchist Press. Last week
I have written a long letter to Freedom, a reply to some of the wretched
attacks upon our helpless Russian comrades. You will be able to republish
it from Freedom. Then I sent a long article on the case of Spirdonova
to an American Magazine. If it is not accepted there it will go to our
own papers and you will get a copy. On the other hand you will receive
through comrade Netlau a statement Alexander B has written and signed by
both of us, also an appeal for our imprisoned comrades. That is all we
have done so far.

Comrade Netlau never was much of a movement man. So it is not too
be expected that he should participate now at his age and after the terrible
privations he has suffered the last eight years. He is a man of the study
and must not be impatient with him. After all each one of us must do
the work he is best fitted to do. Any other work he will do badly. So do
not be impatient with him.

Remember me kindly to your
as well as all the comrades.

Ein sehr interessantes Briefchen
aus Stockholm

Der Ramus ist sehr naiv
und naiv

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850625141

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 17 [New York to] Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, [Stockholm] / H[arry] W[einberger].— 5 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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Jan. 17, 1922.

My dear Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman:

Your letter of December 9th from Riga reached me at St. Augustine, Florida, on my way back from Texas and Mexico on the Rangel and Glinc case, and Stella also read me your other letters and told me about your last one from Riga, stating you were both in jail about one week.

So much of life is only a process and so much of our hopes turn out to be mere illusions, and so much of our knowledge of things is not based on facts, that many men striding the world as he thinks like a colossus, if he really saw himself with his ears and his falls, his passions and his vices, would all be ridiculous and to be laughed at except that they all bring pain and bitterness and suffering. You say you want one of the old time letters that I used to write down at Jefferson City, and so I will try to comply.

I can understand often your inability to write, except now and then. Stella was over to see me and read your last few letters to me. I have received no letters from A. B. nor has Stella said anything about any of his letters, but merely about some postal cards that he sent. I hope that he is his usual serene self. I hope that you will have gotten out of Riga into Sweden, that most of your physical requirements are being satisfied, although, of course, the mental uncertainty does not work for peace. I hope the health of both of you is good. I can understand some of your bitter feeling; so Russia, all of which facts, some denied and some admitted, friends upholding them and enemies denouncing them, make a book in themselves. The Evening World reprinted an article of yours from the Syndicalist of Sweden attacking Bolsheviks. Of course, I presume that the facts and arguments will be coming along in some other letters when you have time to write. In fact, I think if you really want to publish the facts, that a definite written contract with the world to print your articles, word for word as written, could give you some funds that I know you must need very much. Of course, I know that you do not like to publish anything in the so-called socialist press, but possibly, I believe, because they change it and work up things in the run of it, but a written definite agreement was entered by almost most of that and it is something you might consider.

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E.G. & A.B.

-2-

1/17/22.

Things are moving so fast both in Russia and in the world that anything which is not published promptly is stale by the day after tomorrow and therefore almost worthless except as past history.

I think I wrote you that when I was making an argument before the United States Attorney General Daugherty, re amnesty for political prisoners, with other lawyers, and he asked various lawyers questions, one of the questions he fired at me was "Would you allow Emma Goldman to return to this country?" I replied "Certainly. First, because Emma Goldman is a citizen of the United States and the Supreme Court of the United States has never held to the contrary. Her case was never brought to a final decision and that court would probably hold that she was a citizen of the United States. Second," I replied "that she was deported for her opinions, which was in violation of the Constitution of the United States," even though the Supreme Court in the Alexander Berkman case did not so hold, but on the first point it has always been my opinion *though* that the case of course depended upon technicalities of the law, but I think now, as I thought then, that they were technicalities that the Supreme Court would have approved. Of course, the action against your husband to revoke his citizenship was really aimed at you and you were not made a party defendant and your husband as a matter of fact had his whereabouts unknown.

If the "nadam" was good, I understand it is, it would make assurance fairly sure and rally a good deal of support, I believe.

I do not believe that there should be any immediate hurry of putting things to the test unless the necessity absolutely compels it for black reaction is in the saddle, fear is in the hearts and minds of men, conscience is dead and the American Legion is almost seated in the seats of the mighty. I see they passed a resolution the other day protesting against the State Department allowing Beninoff entry into the United States. Of course, they also protested against Debs' release and the release of other political prisoners. They are used to create public sentiment when the powers that be want that sentiment to be created. My opinion on the whole situation is almost as good as mine and your conclusions are almost as liable to be correct as mine. This is an honest statement and is not the sugar-coated pill

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G. & A. G.

-3-

1/17/22.

of assurance of success usually handed out by my brethren of the black robed bar.

I am sending this letter both to Sweden and to Berlin and hope that one of them gets you.

Apparently my four Russians were in the same city with you. Sorry you did not meet them. They would probably have gone on their way for we learn not from the experience of others, but each one of the human race ~~learn~~ by their own travail and even sometimes the burnt child does not fear fire.

About myself, there is nothing so very much new. After I succeeded in getting the four Russians out and the I. W. O. were going back, after Haywood escaped, it was the consensus of opinion that if Debs and the others would get out, the I. W. O. would stay in. I was asked by Gurley Elmer, Vincent St. John, Jack Low and Charles Ashleigh to handle the cases of the latter three personally to obtain their release, so that if we could even break out with one, it might help all the others, especially as the Government insisted on each case being considered by itself and then I also accepted the case of Giovanni Baldanzi. There was no crawling by any of my clients in their application but a painful demand for amnesty on the ground of being political prisoners. It is a long story about each case. When Debs was released a few of the I. W. O. (three out of my four) were released. They were Jack Low, Giovanni Baldanzi and Charles Ashleigh. Each case I presented in a different way. Charles Ashleigh I played up as an English poet and got writers, poets, society people, etc., to ask for his release. In the case of Giovanni Baldanzi, I pressed the case, and also finally got the Italian Ambassador to ask for his release. In the case of Jack Low, I proved that he had a fine job waiting for him with a certain Garfield Company and finally obtained his release. I was sorry indeed that Vincent St. John did not come out, he being probably one of the ablest of all the I. W. O. Debs had originally represented him on his appeal from the Chicago case, which was affirmed in the Circuit Court of Appeals. I presented his case in Washington and an hour came up on his case to prove that he was fit and up and that he had no connection with the I. W. O. before the war and that he was simply made a party defendant, so that, if the other leaders went to jail, they would not be able to call on him to take their place, so that, while in the case of other I. W. O. who really went to jail merely for expression of their opinions, there would be a difference of half between reactionaries and liberals as to whether the I. W. O. have violated the law. ~~in~~ In the case of St. John, an honest

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H. G. and A. B.

-4-

1/17/22.

can have but one opinion and that is that he was deliberately framed up. I am preparing my arguments solely upon that line to re-present them to the President in the hope that it might be successful.

Back in the old days you both used to write articles in the appeal for the release of Rangel and Cline and the other Mexicans, and lo and behold, that heritage came to me. I went to Texas and saw the Governor and argued it out and failed. I asked him, if the Mexican people wanted their release, would he let them go. He said he did not think the Mexican people were interested. I went to Mexico, got a letter from President Obregon, asking, as an official and as an act of friendship, for their release. I got the Mexican Federation of Labor, representing 400,000 men, to pass a resolution asking for their release. The Governor of the Federal District, which also includes Mexico City, also asked for their release, and a letter from Luis Morones, who is the General Congress of Mexico, being the head of the Mexican Federation of Labor, also head of the manufacturing of military supplies, was also secured, and I am in hopes that the long eight years of imprisonment of Rangel and his associates may in the very near future be ~~annulled~~. I have also gotten United States Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas interested and he may also write the Governor to obtain their release. Maybe in a next letter I will write you about my perambulations to Texas and Mexico, meeting some of the men like Soto y Gama who for ten years fought in the hills and woods against Diaz with Zapata and who asked me to write Hagon and say that his principles have not changed but only his tactics in taking part in the Assembly of Mexico. I might state, as a matter of fact, the so-called combination of the anarchists, socialists and liberals in the House of Deputies, by a majority of four votes, elected a permanent commission which controls Mexico while Congress is not in session.

Now, I am back on the job, trying to revive some of my plain ordinary law business which my keep the wolf from the door though sometimes one almost feels, with Voltaire, why not let him in, and be done with it. Doha is home at Terra Santa recuperating as he is a pretty sick man, but I think shortly he will begin some sort of a campaign for amnesty and upon his release he made statements asking for general amnesty. Indirectly, I got some word that he would be asked to Washington to argue each and every one of the I. W. O. cases, though it seems improper to me to have him argue individual cases when at all times his position would and should be to argue general amnesty, only because

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this is
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while talking general amnesty, can keep driving case by case.

There really isn't very much more to write.
Things are moving along a little bit. There is still considerable
unemployment. New York has had a very mild winter with the ex-
ception of a few days. If I could have an excuse of some business
I might come over to Europe in the spring or summer and take that
as a little vacation. I have always wanted to see England, Paris
and perhaps, Rome and Athens, so whether I will be able to do it or
have my nose kept to the grindstone, as it has, is one of the will-
o-the-wisps that I keep before me for perhaps, as the Mexicans say,
"nanana".

I hope you both will find some place where you
will be left in peace and a little comfort to do the writing and
do the things you want, and get into good physical and mental
condition. Certainly my best wishes go across the ocean waves
to you.

Sincerely yours,

P.S. You remember our banker friend? was
asked if he could help you get into Germany.
Some one else is being asked as well, as
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880422001

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 17 [New York to] Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman,
[Stockholm] / H[arry] W[einberger].— 5 p.; 28 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

OFFICE ~~SECRET~~ OF NAVY
MIL. INTEL. DIV. 1
1922 0110-154
82
JAN. 17 1922
325X

My dear Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman:

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So much of life is only a guess and so much of our hopes turn out to be mere illusions, and so much of our knowledge time shows is not based on facts, that many men striding the world as he thinks like a colossus, if he really saw himself with his wares and his jails, his passports and his vices, would all be ridiculous and to be laughed at except that they all bring pain and bitterness and suffering. You say you want one of the old time letters that I used to write down at Jefferson City, and so I will try to comply.

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I hope you both will find some place where you will be left in peace and a little comfort to do the writing and do the things you want, and get into good physical and mental condition. Certainly my best wishes go across the ocean waves to you.

Sincerely yours,

HW/b

PS - You remember our banker friend? Was asked if he could help you get into Germany. Someone else is being asked as well, as Banker could not help.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890126053

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 17, Stockholm [to Max] Net[tl]au, [Vienna] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

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Stockholm. Jan 17th. 1922.

Dear, faithful comrade Nettlau.

Yesterday we received your letter to the three of us. Today I got your letter of the 14th. Shapiro also received the long letter you wrote him. If he has not already replied he will no doubt do so soon. Thanks very much for the kind remembrance and your willingness to do all in your power to obtain for us the right of entry into Austria.

Yes, it was Germany. We did not dare hope for any thing from England. We had in mind when we thought of getting out from Russia. Just as soon as we got to Riga we got in touch with our comrades in Germany. They did everything humanly possible. They got Paul Kampmeyer interested in our case. Now it happened that P. K. K. uncle did in the German consular in Riga. K wrote to him about us and told the comrade everything. He would be alright we should apply to his uncle. Shapiro went to the man but he would not receive him. Instead he sent out word that we should fill out their questionnaire and furnish photos which would be sent to Berlin. We were given to understand that we will be granted visas. Imagine then our surprise when we received the refusal. We couldn't imagine what happened. So we started for Sweden. But we did not go very far. Just as the train pulled out from the Riga station three men demanded to see our documents and placed us under arrest. At the next station we were hauled down and put into an awaiting auto and rushed back to town. Arrived at the police quarters we were subjected to a most palatable search and were put in separate solitary cells. The next day we learned that we were being held as dangerous Bolshevik agents.

However, after innumerable questions the authorities decided they had made a mistake. But as owing to the Xmas holidays which last a long time in Latvia we were kept for a week and then discharged with apologies. We then discovered that we had been held in the Dept of the political work. The Police and that some one had given information about us. The other day Shapiro received a letter from a very reliable comrade telling him that we owe our arrest in Riga and the refusal of our visas to one and the same person, a Bolshevik Tchekist. Dr Wahl told Kampmeyer's uncle wrote K that he was informed by such a person that we were dangerous Bolsheviks, hence the doctor informed the foreign office in Berlin. Kampmeyer at once wrote him proving the absurdity of the thing but the letter arrived too late, our fate had already been sealed.

You see dear comrade, the Bolsheviks could not very well refuse the possibility to leave Russia. That might have caused much comment in the European press. They let us go as far as their power goes and it goes very far, they will make our life very hard. As proof for that I want to point out the situation here. Since we arrived the Syndicalist daily published several interviews with us and the statement about the persecutions of our comrades in Russia. The other day the Sec of Brantung called up Jensen to tell him that it is not advisable for the Russians to write so much for the papers here. Now I do not mean to say that Brantung is directly influenced by the Bolsheviks. But now that even Germany, England and France are discussing the recognition of the Russian government Sweden can not antagonize the Bolshevik too much, hence all revolutionary criticism must be stopped.

I am sure at least as you will understand that if the communists have any say with the social democrats in Vienna, they will either not be granted the right of entry or if we are we will be kept as much as we are here. And then it is hardly worth making the change. Here we are at least safe in this respect, Brantung would send us back to R. if he were told that we would be in danger there. I understand that there have been some precedents when the government wanted to deport some people and did not do so because those people had no place to go. No such guarantees exist in Austria. So unless we can be admitted and free to do literary and critical work on Russia and America it is hardly worth while to go to all the bother. However, now that the matter has been started we will await the result. As it was alright saying that we have no intention of making a Bolshevik Revolution. In fact if I came to the conclusion that no other revolution is possible, I should have to cease to be a revolutionist. Not for worlds would I want to help to bring about the ghastly thing which happened to the Russian people, a thing so marvellously begun and so terribly thwarted. It is also well that you said we have no desire to participate in the movement in Austria. We couldn't do anything until we have had our say on Russia, we consider that of the greatest and gravest importance. But of course, we would like to be able to be free

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[Letter] 1922 Jan. 17, Stockholm [to Max] Nettlau, [Vienna] / Emma Goldman. —

2 p.; 33 x 21 cm.

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to write and speak about that all absorbing question. But, as I said before, if the communists have any hold on the government they will never stand for our activities that is clear.

What a commentary on the utter lack of principle in the world. The very government and counter revolutionary elements that have helped the Bolsheviks in the destruction of the revolution are now willing to help them in silencing the only critic who is able to point to the masses the confusion between the revolution and the Bolsheviks. A confusion which it will take years to clear up. In his latest work Bernard Shaw has an interesting passage. He says this "when Constantine wanted to save his civilization he called it christianity" This applies with tremendous force to the Russian situation. When Lenin wanted to choke down the peoples throat the crushing Marxian state he called it communism. Now that his state is about to be recognized by the combined governments of the world, Lenin himself laughs at the stupidity of his comrades who still believe that communism is possible in Russia. This is the only reason fathers must laugh at those who still believe that the church represents Christianity. A woman will history always repeat itself and the same stupidities. I often despair of the possibilities for the future.

I received a very queer letter from Ramus. Imagin suggesting that he would send us business letters from some firm so we could pretend that we want to come to Vienna on business "pure and simple." Ramus hasn't changed much since the days when I knew him. Has he? No sense of proportion as to what one might or might not do. No understanding that people of our past can act and will not use the pretext of "business pure and simple." Then he seems to be under the impression that we are coming to throw ourselves upon the support of the comrades. Hasn't he heard Gerade gefascht! People do not change much do they?

Dear comrade? I am glad you urged Ramus to refrain from sensationalizing the material we sent him. I know how he loves that but I simply forgot to caution him. I am glad you did.

It was a great and pleasant surprise this news that our dear comrade Dave is still among the living. While still in America we had heard that he had died under very wretched conditions. I don't know how that rumor started. Shapiro tells me he too had heard such rumors. I must write him at once. Among the older European comrades I was not in 1900 he and you seemed the youngest, certainly the most intelligent of the lot. Or is it that I seemed so young and inexperienced at the time? I think with warmth and affection of both of you. If the help I received! Yes I must write dear Victor Dave, will do so to night yet.

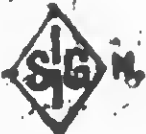
Dear comrades! You asked Shapiro whether Bakunins Confession was to be published? Yes it is very terrible and will be a crushing blow to our movement. I really think that is the reason the Bolshevik government will not publish Bakunins works. His Confession will counter act all their propaganda. But terrible as the confession is it is yet nothing to be afraid of. The letter he wrote to Alexander is a more sickeningly and human thing. I can imagine what it must have been for such a vulgar spirit of Bakunin to be chained in chains for eight years. Still, it hurts that ones idol and teacher should have been so much more than others in like positions. Still I try to understand but the young will not understand. They will be horrified when they read the confession and they will turn from the influence of Bakunin.

Harry K is also trying to get us a visa to Germany. I doubt whether the foreign minister will reconsider his decision. I had a letter from Harry that if he fails he will come here at the end of this month. He will not keep him very long though we have much to go over.

Now that I am back in Europe let us keep in touch dear comrade. Tell me about yourself, your life and your struggle during these terrible years. Have you compiled some work? I am most interested in everything concerning yourself. So many comrades have fallen in the terrible of the war and the revolution, only the very few have remained true and staunch. We must hold on to the few.

affectionately

Emma Goldman



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[Envelope, 19]22 Jan. 18, Stockholm [to] Max Net[t]lau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].
— 1 p. ; 11 × 14 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870927047

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 19, Stockholm [to] Stella [Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. - 2 p. ; 35 x 23 cm.

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Stockholm Jan. 19th. 1922.

13772

Dear Stella. I am so distressed over your silence I can find no peace. What on earth is the matter? The F Ar St. of Dec 30th. has part of S's letter which he wrote Fizzie Dec 7th. Two days before that my letter which I wrote while still in Moscow and which got to Niga on the same train with us, left for America. Yet there is no word from you while the F Ar. St managed to get to Berlin and beforwarded on here. Are you ill? But even so you might get some one to write. Surely you realize how desperately anxious we must be.

Our visa will be renewed for a month. But Brantung has made it very clear to our comrades that we will have to get out from here. Our situation is a desperate one as you can well imagine. We are compelled to knock at the worlds door without any hope of being admitted anywhere. Just now, our old comrade Netlau is working on our case in Vienna. I doubt whether he will succeed. But supposing he will get us the right of entry. It will also be for a very limited period. ~~Then~~ H K at my suggestion is approaching some people in Ger many. But I doubt very much whether the foreign office will reconsider its refusal. The trouble is that if we do get a visa into Austria, we must go there through Germany. Now, it is not at all unlikely that G. will refuse even a transit visa? ~~Is~~ is a fine state to be in, don't you think?

In one of the letters Netlau wrote me the surprising but pleasant news that Victor Dave is still alive in Paris. He will be 75 years old next month. He is in great straights of course. Poor ~~man~~ I sent him ten Kronen. It will mean several days feeding to him. I wrote him to see some people in Paris, Longuet, Monatte, Sebastian Faure eot about the possibility of getting into France. Not that I am hopeful. Still, it is worth trying. After all, if the condition of remaining here for awhile or getting into Austria means absolute ~~nothing~~ ~~on our part~~ I should prefer to live in Paris ~~is a much better~~ ~~than~~ ~~here~~. Here it is most depressing since we do not know the language and there is so little of interest going on. There is a syndicalist and anarchist movement but that must be closed to us. The theatres are very bad and there is very little musik. Next week we will have a treat. The company from The Moscow art theatre which has been ~~from~~ ~~Russia~~ all this time, was in Berlin, is to give three performances here. Misha Ellman is to play Monday. But we will go to ~~hurry~~ ~~see~~ ~~the~~ ~~Russians~~. The company is now on the way back to Russia. Perhaps the American papers reprinted the appeal Stanislavsky has made to ~~the~~ ~~pay~~. He became ~~kind~~ blind and issued a call upon them to save the art theatre. So they are returning.

At last I got some details of the terrible conditions of the Soriabine family. A very close friend of one of the daughters wrote to say. The family consists of five people. Mrs Soriabine, her mother is eighty years old, Soriabine's aunt who brought him up and two ~~daughters~~. Ariane is the oldest, she is sixteen. Her sister, Marina is ten. She is ~~very~~ ~~talented~~ in drawing. Ariane too, is a ~~girl~~, terribly under the influence of Dostoyevsky whom she worships. She is religious and mystical. The whole family with the exception of the grandmother have had typhus. They have been ill since July. ~~Marina~~ has remained very delicate and weak. And the mother is now laid up. ~~Marina~~ ~~Agnes~~ all over the body. The family was to leave for ~~Belgium~~ ~~the~~ mother is so ill she can not be moved.

Now, they have been receiving the academic pack which is of course better than the ordinary, still it is in no way sufficient either in quantity or quality. Only the sick room is heated they recently received wood from the Soviet. But it is not enough to keep warm, so they heat only the sick room. Mme Soriabine wants it known that the government has done much for her and her family, that they were supplied with medical care and medicines that she is therefore complaining. Only having been ill so long they are all enfeebled and in great distress and that she would be glad to receive assistance in America. She wishes me to send best greetings to her husband's friends in America. She said her husband loved the American public most. ~~He~~ used to say that nowhere did he meet such understanding as in America.

The Soriabines have a great friend in America, Alfred ~~Liberts~~. He was the pupil of Soriabine and has organized a Soriabine ~~study~~ in America for the special study of Soriabine's works. They have lost sight of him. They are quite sure if he could be located he would help them. Perhaps the American Music League might know of his whereabouts.

I think I wrote you that the Soriabines were living in the Soriabine museum. It was organized by his family and some friends. It consists of all of Soriabine's works, his work room, his piano and many portraits made by the famous Painter Pasternak.

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13773

Dearest, see what can be done and that at once for ^{Self} ~~my~~ is
is sadly needed. All moneys should be sent to the Lithuanian Consul
in Moscow. Here is the address,

Yourgiss Balttrouchaitis.

Minister resident de la Mission

Lithuanienne, Moscow. He must be instructed

that the money is for Mme Scriabine. In that way the family may get
the full value of American money. It might even be well to send ^{the} ~~the~~
money up to fifty Dollars in registered letter. What ever it is, it
has got to be done at once. If you think it would help matters, perhaps
you will make a little article out of the material I sent you and
sign my name to it. I would do it myself but that will delay
matters and I want this to go at once.

Well, dear, I do not know what to do if I do not hear from
you soon. I will send you a cable Saturday though I can ill afford to
spend the money. But I am most wretched. I am worried, last you are
ill.

I embrace you tenderly. Love to all.

P. S. Add that the artists of Moscow have helped the Scriabines
much as they could. The government promised them a lot of wood but
they received was enough to heat the sick room. The others have not
been heated all this winter.

last winter

My letter was tenderly received
But I wrote it late at night
and I was so depressed
you can make out the
a little article of a separate
letter about the Scriabines
came from the Scriabines
the Scriabines family
I am a very sick
far away from you

just got your letter of the 27th
We received no letter from
one, we were absolutely
and from you since
can imagine how sick
I am. Harry is to come
next week. I hope he
will be with you at long last

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[Letter] 1922 Jan. 23, Stockholm [to] Stell[a] Ballantine, New York] / E[mma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

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12585

Stockholm. Jan 23rd. 1922.

My own. Your letter of the 27th. of Dec. took a load off my chest. Knowing how faithful you have been during our stay in R. Knowing how eagerly you looked forward to our being out of that vast prison, I could not account for your silence. You see, darling, I figured that my letter dated Moscow Nov 29th which left for Riga in the British mail bag the same day we left, Dec. 31st. would reach you by the middle of Dec. And that you would then cable, or at least write me. I do not understand what became of that letter since you say nothing about it in yours of Dec. 27th. You see dearest, that I have infinite faith in you, I expected you would cable and you did. Unfortunately I did not get that cable. I am sure Rucker did not get it, else he would have sent it on to me. And where ~~that~~ did H W cable to? Nothing was received from him. ~~That~~ In short it is the usual conspiracy of circumstances which so often happens just when one is most anxious for news. While you were sure that I would see M. and get information from him and that I would have cables from you and H W, I was eating my heart out with anxiety about you. I am glad all is well and that we will now be able to keep in touch regularly. It is the one thing that keeps me from utter despair.

I wrote you several times since we got here. You therefore know that we could not get to Germany. I am sure we will not be able to get anywhere. Netlau, who is trying hard to get us into Austria and who was at first hopeful, in his last letter which I got to day is quite pessimistic. Everywhere the Social Democrats are close to the government, if they are not themselves the government. Everywhere they are scared stiff when they hear our names. Since we have begun to show up the terrible condition of our comrades in Russia our own chances have become still more ephemeral. The Bolsheviks with their call for a common front are making a bid for the S. D. The latter are already falling for it. Under these circumstances the social democrats themselves do not want anything critical said against the Bolsheviks. I doubt therefore, whether the Austrian S. D. will do anything to help us obtain visa. And even if they do, they will be the first to perceive us the moment they see anything from us on Russia.

The fact of the matter is, we will not be admitted anywhere. I am quite sure of that. Of course, Rucker from whom I heard to day is still very hopeful. He and the other comrades, with H M and the wife of Boni are leaving no stone unturned to get us into Germany. I hope that they succeed. But between you and me and the lamp post, I do not think they will. Here, our visa have been extended for a month. But Brantung, the foreign minister, made it very clear that it must not be for longer. Fortunately, there seems to be no way of expelling people from Sweden if they have no place to go to. It will be most unpleasant for us to impose any kind of a fight upon our comrades. But if there is no other way, they are quite determined to make the fight to prevent our expulsion. And as they have a daily Syndicalist paper and a weekly anarchist publication they are able to raise quite a rumour. They do not think the government will even attempt to go the limit. But we do not feel very happy over the matter. On the other hand, we are helpless.

How naive dear Henry A. is. In the first place it is one thing for ordinary mortals to stowaway or do other such stunts. It is another thing for us. We went out with Soviet passports viced by the Latvian government. That means the authorities in Riga knew we were coming. We were there for three weeks waiting for the German visa, during that time we had to have our visa renewed three times and each time registered with the police. In order to get to Reval we had to have an Estonian visa, with the same result. In short the moment we reached Reval the authorities already knew, hence it was impossible to get out illegally. Besides, we had not a single address in Reval, we knew no one to turn to. In short we could not hope for any assistance from sailors. We simply had to go to Stockholm. I hold no brief for the American consul in Riga. But Henry is wrong in blaming him for our arrest. The trick was played us by a Bolshevik Tchekist. We have that on good authority. It was he who informed the Riga authorities that we were dangerous Bolsheviks and it was he who notified the German consul in Riga of the same fact. That is why we were arrested and why our German visa was refused. The consul who is an uncle of an old German social democrat whom I knew in Europe, Paul Kampfmayer showed the letter giving the facts in the case to Rucker. You see then, it was not the American consul this time.

Anyway, dearest you must not plan too much about meeting me in Europe. Heaven only knows where I will be if not in prison-somewhere. I need not assure you that I am aching to see you. But I hate to make plans when life is so uncertain for us. The most likely thing is that we will have to remain here. In that case we will have to keep absolutely quiet. Of course we can write for American or any European papers but

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12.555 A

in no way can we take any part in Sweden, we have already been notified that our name must not appear in the papers here. If we remain here you will have to come to Sweden. It is very beautiful all around here and we could get a cottage out of town. But as I have already written you it is terribly expensive to live here. It costs as much as in America. Otherwise I would just as leave remain here as in Germany or anywhere else except Paris. Well, I have written Victor Dave to see what can be done about a French visa but I have no hopes. We are merely trying everywhere.

Today, arrived your letter of the 4th. Also Fitzies of Dec. 27th. I am so glad she has written Sasha. It has made him very happy. Now dearest, about some of the information it contains. If as you say Pearsons has become a sheet of scandal I do not want to write for it. I will therefore cable you tomorrow to hold up the Spirdonova article unless you can place it in the Freeman, Nation or New Republic. Not that I mind writing for the F Ar. St. Indeed, I will be only too glad to write some articles for them. But I must reach the American Public I admit, I am not keen on writing for the World. I will do that as a last resort. But I suppose you are right when you say the Liberal Magazines will take nothing against the Bolshiviki. Keell writes the same from London. If I am to write for the World several things must be made very clear. First, I would not consent to sending articles by wire cable. I am afraid they would be mistated in the transmission and a lot of misrepresentation would be inevitable. The World would be able to get out of the responsibility by saying that the error crept in the transmission. You might explain to Mr Swope that in matters of Russia I can not afford to be misunderstood. I will have enough to face from the communist Billy Sunday outfit in America and the rest of the world. At least I must be sure in my own mind that what I say is reproduced accurately. Find out whether it would do to send the articles by mail direct to the World. Find out how many articles Mr Swope would want. ~~There~~ There is another thing, before I begin a series of articles, in fact as an introductory article I will have to make clear my position on world imperialism and its effect on Russia. Will the world consent to that? Finally, the question of payment. The one thing which would induce me to write for the World is that I may be able to help the unfortunate victims I have left behind. I would therefore have to insist on a considerable amount for a series of articles. For my article ~~that~~ I believe, the World at that time, so many years ago ~~paid~~ paid 250 Dollars. They ought to pay more on Russia. Perhaps you had better see Mr Swope and cable me what he has to say.

Tomorrow or a day after I will send you an introductory article which is to go into the World or in fact any paper or Magazine that will bring my stuff. Then the Spirdonova article can follow. To day I am sending an article on the last three years of Kropotkin. The anniversary of his death is the 8th. of Feb. And nothing freely could be written about him from Russia. My article is the first authentic picture of his life during the Bolshivik regime and his views on their relation to the Revolution. If I am to write for the World I should like this article also to go in the series. Last but not least, you must have an understanding that I may use the material published in the World for the book I have in mind. I repeat dearest, if any of the Liberal Magazines would take articles I should much prefer to place them there. I am really unhappy with the thought that my views on Russia must go into a capitalist daily. So you must try your best with the Freeman and the others first and only then go to the World. If the World refuses the Kropotkin article and you can not place it in any Magazine give it to the Fr. Ar. St. However you must let me know by cable as all the anarchist papers have asked me to write about Kropotkin for the anniversary. I have copies for them but I will wait until I hear whether they go into the World first.

I too, have no faith in the step with HM that is the very reason I have hesitated so long. I hate to make a fool of myself. I have not yet heard from Margolis and I am waiting to hear from Harry W. I must know the law in every detail. I will not get any one into trouble for my sake. H W will therefore have to go over the ground very carefully. H E maybe here in a few days. We had to get him some letters of recommendation from here ~~which~~ he could not get the Swedish visa. We got him some from a Printing house. It is funny, he was to try to get us into Germany. He tried no doubt. But so far we had to help him get into Sweden I hope the letters we sent him will do and that we will see him soon. Poor Harry, he wrote he lost out of his pocket Express checks for 170 D. He has immediately notified the office to stop payment. He will no doubt get the money refunded but that will take two months. He asked whether we will be able to let him have some money. We will have to of course. Since I wrote you from Riga, we already spent over four hundred Dollars. Hundred and eighty since we are in Stockholm. But now our expenses will be reduced. I found a beautiful room for S. for 20. Dollars per month. I am with the Jensens for the present, so I am free of rent. Of, course

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12/24
if we remain here for long I will have to find an Apt. The Jensens are lovely people but they have only two rooms, I can not impose on them too long. Besides, I must have my own place. I am cooking as usual, so our food too, will be cheaper than eating in restaurants. Still, we can not expect to get on with less than hundred Dollars a month and in case of an Apt. even more. That will not include clothing or some distractions. We go to the Russian performances to night, cheapest seats one Dollar. So you can judge for yourself. It is alright about money for the present. You do not need to send me any. I think we can manage until March, then we will see.

Do not blame Max too much dearest. I know from my own experience in Russia what it means to have all ones hopes and dreams shattered. To see the thing one has hoped for all ones life come to life and be crushed within a few years. For Max it must have been worst because he depairs much quicker than I. I have the Jew in me too much to be completely disillusioned. Then too, Max never wanted to listen to the suggestion that he could never live long in Germany. The fact of the matter is no one who has lived in America long can live long in any European country. The difference is too great. Unless one has unlimited means and travels about leisurely never taking part in anything of a political nature. Do not be impatient with Max dearie. He needs the few friends he has in America now more than ever before. Of course it hurt dreadfully when I learned that he would not wait my arrival when I never had such need of him in all my life as I do now. But I understood and do not blame him. But you are right, men are not used to give—that is womans joy and tragedy. Indeed, my beloved child you have never failed me. I dont know ~~in~~ what I should have done without you in my souls agony while in R. I may not have said so in so many words, but I have felt deeply the greatness and sweetness of your devotion my darling.

I will write again and send the introductory article in a few days. You must wait for that before you give any of my stuff to any body, as that is to put my position clearly before the American workers and our own comrades before anything appears over my signature. But you might not to lose time (see the Magazines and if they refuse, see Mr Swope) Then cable me. I will cable you tomorrow about the Spirdonova article.

Good by for the present my beloved own Stell. A thousand thanks for all you have done for me. Kiss our baby boy, I am going to send him some little gift for his birthday. It will be six years, will it not? I have lived so long since his birth I do not quite remember. Remember me very kindly to H.A. If he thinks his uncle can do something to get us into Germany, I wish I would notify Rucker and send him his uncles address, so he can get in touch with him.

Love to Teddy, F. will write her soon. To all our friends. Love to the R. folk, glad your mother has a rest for awhile. Love to Minnie I am so happy she is improving.

I kiss you and hold you close to me my own.

Be sure to send me copies
of my ~~8000~~ Drama & a B.
had also ~~handwritten~~ ~~of~~
attached. ~~see~~ ~~with~~ a
Hope Bal's response. Do it
at once, dear.

[Letter, 19]22
2 p. ; 21 × 14 cm.

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19. Ball-h

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"A. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 8



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 27, Stockholm [to] Carl [Newlander, Hjorkvarn, Sweden] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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Stockholm Jan 27th. 1922.

Dear Carl. Got your letter with Stellas inclosed. I had hoped there we would also be letters from Alulerg, Harpellis and H. W. They were all to write to you just as soon as they got our cable. They knew no other address. I suppose they have not written. Since Stella wrote me of you, she and Fitzie wrote direct to Jensen's address, so from now on we will get our mail here. But if something comes up when you write yourself you must not address it to J., or Jensen's name, just address Jensen and have the letter intended for me in an inside envelope.

We were to let our visa extended for a month. But when the pipe broke to our passport desk, a visa there will have an extension of only two weeks. However, we will be out of Sweden next week. But in any event, I think we will have trouble after this. Jensen and the others insist it will only be a formality, but we must have to have a seal put on our passports at the police last evening, two weeks. But we are sure they are mistaken, it will mean a fight. To state awfully to inflict such a thing on our comrades here, especially as we really will not be able to stand the terrible strain of living very long. As to any publication for America of our Russian stuff, that will be utterly out of the question. Germany is the place for that. So far however, the outlook of getting there is very poor. He had hoped Harry would bring something definite, of course he is not. With any group of our comrades doing something of the kind. However, Harry will go back from here with certain definite questions which the German comrades will have to answer. Then, we will have whether we go home to get into Germany or not.

Have heard from Nelson, he is working hard about getting us into Austria, but there too, I am very doubtful. The Social Dem. could help, but they are afraid. "The Social Dem. are too well known" they said to Hettler. Added to this is the fact that they stand very close to Horney and will object to our exposure of the fake. So there you are. The fact of the matter is that London has poisoned the whole world. Stella writes that it is very doubtful whether any of the liberal papers of A. would take an article from us in Russia. Keell, from London writes the same. He said he saw that old fakir Mansbury about our statement regarding our comrades. And he said he would not take our word until corroborated by the government. Can you imagine such a situation. On the other hand, the New World offers to take a series of articles from me and to bring every word. I am not very happy about having my stuff on Russia in the world, Sasha too, is not in favor of it. Still, if I stand before the alternative of complete silence or the N. W. I will choose the latter. I have however, written an introduction to the series of articles I have in mind. I am inclosing a copy, so you will be able to judge for yourself.

It is with dear love and I have still much to write. Have you a copy of that unfortunate pamphlet of mine on the Bolsheviks and our deportation pamphlet? If so please let me have them soon.

Yours very truly, affectionately

E. G.

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[Letter] 1922 Jan. 27, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / Emma [Goldman].—
2 p.; 26 x 20 cm.
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Stockholm, Jan. 27th, 1922.

Dear Comrade,

Your letters of the 10th, 19th, 20th and 23rd inst. received. Thanks very much for keeping me posted as to the possibilities in our case. I am ~~at~~ not disappointed. I did not expect we would be given the right of entry. I confess I had hoped Adler would prove himself a little bigger, more liberal. But that merely shows that I go on expecting something from Social Democrats when I should know after all my experience that they are politicians and as such, afraid of every shadow.

I am sure dear comrade that you have gone about in the right way and that you have done your utmost, there is no need for you to have any regrets. Naturally, all politicians fear anarchists, especially those who will not compromise, be hoodwinked or flattered. I saw enough of that in Russia. No doubt Adler already knows of our opposition against the Bolsheviks, no doubt that will influence him. Well, it can not be helped. After all, I do not propose to lay ~~my~~ my soul bare to any government. I will rather go back to Russia and spend my time in the Tcheka. For the present, I have no intention of doing that. But if it should come to that, well, we'll face it.

Here, we were to have our visa renewed for another month. But we are getting it only for two weeks. Then we will have to try again. Our comrades here feel certain that the government will not go to the extent of expelling us. They say that recently a man who had committed a criminal offense and who had no country to go to, was permitted to remain. The government will not be able to do less for us. But it may mean a fight, which we are very loath to impose upon our comrades. No, nothing definite from Germany. Harry K is here since Wed. But he brought nothing definite. He tells us that our comrades have by no means given up hopes. Rocker wrote to the same effect. But that we must be patient. An American friend of ours will arrive in Berlin Monday, I believe, he has connections in the Independent S. Party and will do all he can to induce some of those people to help. H K will see that friend when he returns to Berlin next week. Something may develop. But frankly, I am not very sanguine.

I understand that visas are no longer needed in Switzerland and Belgium. Whom have we there? Bertoni, of course. Or do you know any one else? Perhaps you will write to Switz? And Belgium, is Paul Recause still there? Perhaps he could be written to. I am asking Rocker to do something in that line. I am also writing to a comrade in Prague. In short, we will soon have applied to every European country, ^{except} to the so called Christian Nations. Perhaps we would fare better if we turned to the Heathens? They may prove more humane, more liberal.

The poisonous influence of Moscow has certainly spread to all corners of the earth, thus Ecell in answer to my query whether Liberal magazine in England would be likely to take a series of articles on Russia, writes in the negative. Can you imagine that the old duffer Lansbury refused to mention our statement about the condition of our comrades in prison. He had the impudence to say, "I will take their word when I get corroborating evidence" In other words when the Soviet government will O. K. our word. I mean to pay my respects to this miserable politician who betrays the workers of England with the fake story that the teachings of Jesus had been realized in Russia. The man was in Moscow six weeks, was royally entertained by the government, does not speak a word of Russian, has seen nothing outside of what he ~~was~~ was officially shown, and then has the temerity to speak of R. or to doubt our word. He is only one of the many who have been

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[Letter] 1922 Jan. 27, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / Emma [Goldman].—
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...the revolution and those who are in the way of it. I am sure that the dream and ideal of the revolution will find its medium of expression.

Well, dear comrades, I must close, or I will make you unhappy with my gloom. Do not think I am despairing, not that at all. I am facing facts. I have written two articles for publication, one about the last years of our dear Peter's life and the other about the very tragic condition of Maria Spiridonova who has only recently been released from the prison and is now slowly dying. Have also written an introductory article to make clear my position towards the Russian Revolution. If the articles appear anywhere I will send you copies, or I may send you copies of the MSS.

H K will soon be with you and bring you my affectionate greetings.

Good night dear comrades. I hope we may yet meet some day, somehow, somewhere.

Faithfully,

Emma



Comrade Berkman and Shapiro send greetings

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[Envelope, 19]22 Jan. 28, Stockholm [to] Max Net[t]lau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].
 — 2 p. ; 9 × 13 cm.

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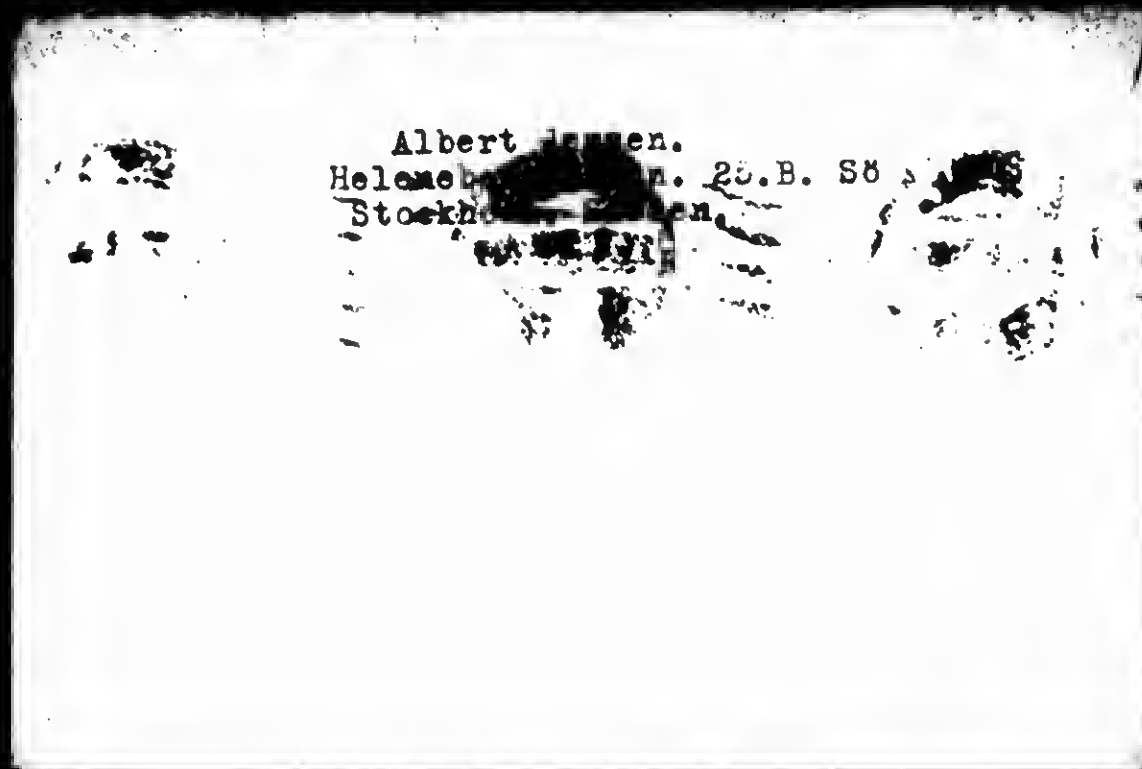
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 19]22 Jan. 28, Stockholm [to] Max Net[t]lau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].
— 2 p. ; 9 × 13 cm.

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[Letter] 1922 Jan. 30, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
1 p.; 20 × 17 cm.
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Stockholm, Jan. 30th, 1922.

Dear Comrade, Adler's letter is one more proof, if proof was needed, that it is foolish to expect anything from politicians. They always consider the present moment unfavorable for action, they grow so atrophied through waiting and trimming that the time for action never arrives with them.

Where did Adler ever get the courage and decision to commit his act? Judging by his letter, he is just the ordinary type of the politician. It is certainly strange.

Of course, you can ask him to continue, since we can do nothing else, anywhere else. But frankly, I do not believe he will do anything in our behalf. Rest assured he will find some excuse to side track the matter. How soon is the change of ministry expected? I ask, because I would like to have an idea when one might hope to approach the new minister? If it is a question of months, then it is perhaps best to try Scholer after all, if your Professor cares to do it. If the matter is likely to happen soon, then we might wait until the new boss comes into office. But it is an old story, men newly in office, and more reluctant to act than those who go out of it. The latter have nothing more to lose. However, I am not in a position to judge.

No, nothing from Berlin. H K, goes back tomorrow with some instructions to Rocker and the other comrades, if they will act upon it immediately something might materialize, but it will not be the honest to God law abiding way. We will keep you posted, of course. The Dutch comrades are also trying—and I have written to a Russian comrade in Prague. But, I have no faith in any of these methods. Harry will tell you of some other we have in mind.

I think you had better notify Ranus to go ahead with our appeal for the Russian comrades in Bolshevik prisons. I do not feel they ought to suffer on our account. Not that I expect much from Austria, it is too woefully poor to give anything. But our comrades ought to learn the truth about the Bolshevik regime. I do not believe it will spoil our chances with Adler, but if it does, well it can not be helped. We can not possibly keep silent out of consideration for the politicians in the world.

Harry will tell you a few of my plans for the future. Dear, dear comrade. I am sending you a little gift through him with my deepest affection.

EG

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2 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Kol. Jacob Joffe, Brief anise einem Stockholmer Freund, Stockholm, 1922.
 lieber Alexander, Ich bin von einem Briefe, den ich vorhin von
 Ihnen erhalten habe, sehr froh. Ich bin sehr froh, dass Sie von
 Moskau mitgeteilt, dass Sie dort wieder zurückkommen und wie die
 sozialistische Regierung Sie und die andern Kameraden weiter
 schicken. Es ist eine Schwach, aber wir, die diese Regierung in
 der Hilfe sehen, brauchen uns nicht gar zu verwundern. Leider
 aber glaubt die Arbeiterklasse Europas und Americas noch immer an
 den kommunistischen Schwindel. Sie werden sich erinnern, wie oft
 ich gesagt habe, dass vor uns eine kolossal schwere Arbeit steht,
 den kommunistischen Aberglauben zu brechen. Seit ich in Europa bin,
 bin ich sehr als je überzeugt, dass es Jahre lang nehmen wird, bis
 es uns gelingen wird auch nur ein bisschen Licht in die Köpfe der
 Massen zu bringen. Vorläufig haben wir, mit Ausnahme der Anarchis-
 tischen Presse kein Mittel, an die grosse Masse heranzugehen.
 Und das bringt mich zu Ihrer Frage von Rat für welche Zeitschriften
 Sie schreiben könnten.

Moscow kinnso so ziemlich die ganze Arbeiter-Bewegung vergiftet hat. Aber, dass Moscow auch die ganze liberale Presse in die Klauen hat, das habe ich mir den doch nicht vorgestellt. Seit dem ich hier bin, erhielt ich von unsere Kameraden in London einen Brief, dass gar bei nicht daran zu denken ist, Beiträge in die liberale Presse abzu- bringen, keine Zeitschrift will jetzt etwas gegen Russland bringen, weil die Bolshivik Regierung jetzt am Vorabend der Anerkennung steht. Keine Richte aus America schreibt dasselbe. Nun, will zwar die N. Y. World Artikel von mir, verspricht sogar Alles genau zu drucken, aber Sie wissen ja, wie peinlich es ist in einer täglichen kapitalistischen Zeitung über R. zu schreiben. Man ist also vor der Alternative gestellt, entweder zu schweigen, oder eben in der World zu erscheinen. Ich habe mich bis jetzt nicht dazu entschliessen können. Ich hoffe es wird sich doch noch irgend eine Wochen oder Monat Schrift finden, wo man gehört werden kann.

Sie wissen vielleicht nicht, dass wir jetzt in America keine anarchistische Zeitung in englischer Sprache haben, somit kann es nur für die Prole Arbeiter Stimme schreiben. Das tut jetzt Alexander. Und das würde ich auch Ihnen raten. Ich bin sicher die Fr. Arb. St. wird sehr froh sein Artikel von jemanden zu bekommen, der die Revolution, wie Sie, lieber stark auf eigen Leibe durchgemacht hat. Ich weiss nicht wie viel die Fr. Arb. St. zahlt, aber sicherlich 5. Dollar fuer einen Artikel, damit konnten Sie schon sehr gut in Berlin leben, wenn Sie einen Artikel per Woche liefern sollten. Wenden Sie sich also an den Redakteur, oder viel mehr an Genosse Joseph Conn, er ist jetzt der Verwalter der Zeitung. Sagen Sie ihm, Alexander und ich, hatten Sie empfohlen.

Ja, ich glaube auch, dass die Arbeit, die Sie und die
andern planten, nicht leicht gehen wird. Hauptsächlich wegen des
Asylrechts. Wie es scheint werden Fremde in jedem Lande jetzt abso-
lut mundtot gemacht. Hier, wo man alle zwei Wochen zu dem Minister
des Aussen, Brantung, Sozialdemokrat, laufen muss, wurde schon
bemerkt, dass wir nicht tätig sein durften. Wir hatten nämlich ein
paar kurze Artikel in dem "Arbetaren", dem täglichen Syndicalistischen
Blatt. Die Genossen von der Zeitung wurden benachrichtigt, unsere
Namen durften nicht so oft erscheinen. Also, wenn man hier leben
sollte man zu Schweigen verdammt sein. Ich fuerchte Dasselbe wird
in Deutschland der Fall sein. Was dann aus uns Allen werden soll
weiss ich nicht, man kann doch schliesslich nicht ewig stumm bleiben,
zu einer Zeit wo die anarchistische Stimme so Not tut. Nun, wenn
Sie erst in D. sind, dann wird man ja sehen, was sich machen lässt.

Was mit uns werden soll, weiss ich vorläufig nicht. Die Deutschen Kauraden versichern uns, dass sie Alles tun, um uns nach D. zu bringen, aber bis jetzt ist es ihnen nicht gelungen. Und von hier aus weg zu kommen, hauptsächlich für mich, ist gar nicht denkbar. In andere Länder sieht es auch nicht gar zu hoffnungsvoll aus. So sind jetzt unsere Freunde in Osterreich, Holland, England und sogar Frankreich an der Arbeit uns die Einfahrt zu ermöglichen. Habe mich sogar an einen Genossen in Prague gewandt, aber ich bezweifle ob etwas daraus wird. Sie sehen also, dass unsere Lage nicht gerade beneidenswerth ist.

Vorleufig sitzen wir hier und schreiben ein Bischen. Ich habe bis jetzt drei Artikel geschrieben und bin jetzt an der Arbeit einen längern Aufsatz über die Elemente, die dazu beigetragen haben die Revolution zu vernichten. Die andern Artikel, waren, über das Schicksal Maria Spridonovas, Erinnerungen an Peter Kropotkin. Und einen Artikel über, meine Stellung gegen die Bourgeoisie, sowohl wie gegen die Machtträger in Russland. Das habe ich geschrieben um klar zu

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[Letter] 1922 Feb. 5, Stockholm [to Mark Mratchny, Berlin?] / E[mma Goldman].—
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Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mrachnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books
and Special Collections.

der
Verdachten
legen, dass mein Kampf gegen beide Mächte sein wird. Nicht dass ich
mir einbilde, die kommunistische Klique der Welt mich nicht als
Counter-Revolutionären verschreien wird. Aber, es ist mir darum zu
tun ~~was~~ dass die Arbeiter wissen von welchem Standpunkt ich die
Ereignisse in Russland zu beleuchten gedenke. Wo meine Arbeiten
erscheinen werden, weiss ich noch nicht. Ich erwarte mit Ungeduld
Nachricht aus America.

Ja, dass kann ich mir denken, dass Sie an Character, Kultur
und Geschmack verschieden sind von unsere andern Kameraden,
~~besonders~~ von Maximoff. Sie sind eben Europäer, wie ich. Deswegen
habe ich mich so unglücklich gefühlt unter den Genossen in Russland.
Vielleicht ist es wichtiger für die Propaganda so sektenartig und
provinzial zu sein wie der gute Max. Aber, wir sind eben verärrt,
Sie und ich. Nicht wahr? Nun, warum sollen Sie schliesslich mit den
Andern zusammen arbeiten? Die Harmonie ist schliesslich die erste
Bedingung zum Erfolg irgend einer Arbeit. Sollte es Alex und mir
gelingen in Deutschland ansässig zu werden, dann wollen wir sofort
einen kleinen Verlag von einem Bulletin und Brocküren anfangen, in
Englisch, natürlich. Vielleicht können Sie dann mit uns arbeiten.
Wir können ja übersetzen was Sie schreiben. Wollen wir hoffen, dass
es geht. Jedenfalls, hoffe ich, dass wir bald zusammen sein werden.
Sie haben keine Ahnung wie sehr ich mich freuen werde, Sie mit Kaffee
und andern Produkte meiner "Kunst" zu bewirten. Ich habe Ihnen ja
schon ein Mal gesagt, lieber Mark, dass Sie mir von allen Russischen
Kameraden am Nächsten standen und stehen werden.

Hoffentlich trifft Sie dieser Brief schon in Berlin. Wenn
er dahin kommen wird, weiss der Himmel. Wir sind seit dem
Ausbruch des Eisenbahn Strikes ganz abgeschnitten von unsere Deutsche
Kameraden.

Schreiben Sie recht bald, wie es Ihnen sonst geht.
Herzliche Grusse. Ihre Freundin.

Grüssen Sie bitte Jartchuk, Maximoff, Ols und die Andern.

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861028136

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 8, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, Stockholm / Royal Board of Swedish Telegraphs. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.
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KUNGL.
TELEGRAFSTYRELSEN.
ADMINISTRATIVA BYRÅN.

Stockholm, February 8:th 1922.

Milady,

I am to inform you that according to an agreement with the Great Northern Telegraph Company you are entitled during the year 1922 to hand in at any telegraph office in Stockholm without prepayment of the charges telegrams addressed to the Newyork World, 20 Cockspur Street, London.

The charges for such telegrams will be collected from the addressee by the Great Northern Telegraph Company.

For the Royal Board of Swedish Telegraphs,



Milady Emma Goldmann,
Heleneborgsgatan 25, IV,
Stockholm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 11, Stockholm [to] Stella [Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

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Stockholm. Feb. 11th. 1922.

12604

Dearest, mine. Between the uncertainty of our position and the anxiety of hearing from you—I think the latter is the hardest to bear. Don't think I doubt you, my darling. But, when I don't hear from you for a long time I begin to imagine all sorts of things. Your letter prior to the one I received, day before yesterday, was of Jan 11th. Of course, I know you would not allow so many weeks to pass without writing, knowing as you must, how I long to hear from you. Well, your letter of the 23rd. explains matters. I was terribly shocked to hear of Ian's attack. It came like a bolt from a clear sky. He was always so sturdy. Well, I am glad it was not more serious. Still, you will have to take great care of our baby, after all, he is still a baby. I wish you could take him to a warmer climate. New York is very bad for one whose lungs have been weakened. Apparently, as we already had a few in your family who suffered from the lungs, Harry, our dear David. Could you not take him at least to Lakewood for a week or two? It's dry there and much milder. Lakewood, the place I tried to reach so many times, not that my lungs needed it. My lungs and my stomach have been strong as iron since I left America. I don't know what I should have done otherwise. But to come back to Ian. I really think you ought to take him somewhere for a fortnight. If you are short in money use some of mine, dear. We want our precious boy to grow up strong. It is the only thing you can try to guarantee him for the future. Hug him for me and tell him his Tante E. would be most unhappy and oh, so lonely, if anything happened to him.

To day, I received a cable from the World of the following contents "will offer you three hundred Dollars gold each for five or six articles by you on Bolshivism with stipulation they are to be your own story of disillusionment with system. Will include Spirdonova and Kropotkin but want first of all to have your own story which Americans eager to know. Will guarantee integrity of articles along these lines and vest all book rights in you. Please acknowledge earliest possible.

The World.

I will send them a cable tomorrow that I am sending an article to you with instructions. But I am very unhappy over the fact that I can not get anything anywhere else except in the World, the paper which is sure to play my articles up not only against the Bolshiviki but also against the Revolution. I can tell you how I have been struggling with myself, since I first learned from you that the World wants my stuff. I discussed it with Sasha and Shapiro, they are both opposed to the idea. Shapiro is of the old time types, who is opposed to ever writing for "Capitalist papers, as if the New Republic, or even the Nation, are non Capitalist papers. Sasha, well, he is very changeable, as you well know. He will condemn one time what he will do, the next. While still in Moscow, he scorned the idea of ever writing for the liberal magazines. Yet he wrote F. to place his stuff in some of them, if possible. He now has the idea, that if we can not get our stuff accepted by some liberal publication, we should get out a series of pamphlets. There are many good reasons for his objections to appearing in the World, with which I can not but agree. The main reason being, that it is bound to leave a stigma to my name. Not that I care what the zealots will say. But, in time, even serious people will get the impression that I was with the bourgeoisie, not merely against the Rax Bolshiviki but against the Revolution. It is reasonably certain that this will be the case. That is why I am torn in two directions.

Stella darling, if I consent to the offer of the World, am I not doing the same thing that Babushka did? You remember, I pointed out several times—that it was not so much what she said, as that she spoke under the auspices of the Dodges and Rockefeller. Perhaps Babushka too, had no other choice. We were all struck by blindness, when she saw the Bolshiviki—as they were. Perhaps we would not have helped her to a hearing. Anyhow, we all condemned her for allying herself with the reactionary outfit. Would I not be guilty of the same offense, if I appeared in the World? I am so confused and unhappy. Frankly I don't know what to do. Curiously, enough, several people whose opinions I value and whom I have consulted, Netland, Rocker are of the opinion, that I should place my articles in the World—if I absolutely have no other

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1922 Feb. 11, Stockholm [to] Stella [Ballantine, New York (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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place. Harry K. also advised it. But then, Netlau and ~~the~~ Rocker do not know the poisonous influence of the American press. And dear H.K. does not mind a little compromise. I wonder what Dr Cohn would ~~think~~ think of it? And did you speak to Max? It may seem to you strange that I, always so decided should not know my mind. You would understand my wavering better if you know how dreadful is the effect of my Russian experience upon my whole being. ~~Then too, is the same~~ ~~circumstance~~ Then too, is the knowledge of what Moscow gold has done to most people, how it has corrupted the entire labor and socialist movement. I felt sick all over me when I read this sentence in the cable, "We'll offer you three hundred Dollars in gold each" etc. The World naturally thinks that is the most important matter. I don't suppose it would believe that if I could have my articles published in some liberal magazine I would consent to it without a cent remuneration, rather than to get three hundred Dollars from the World. And yet that is the way I feel. I am telling you all this, my own, that you should know how very hard it is for me to decide.

Have you really tried all liberal publications? And what reasons did they give for refusing? I do hope my dear, that you have not permitted the offer of the World to stop you from giving the liberal press a chance to refuse. Please, please darling, if you have not yet approached them all, the Nation, the New Republic, the Freeman, Hopkins magazine and what ever others there are. Or perhaps even the conservative magazines. After all it makes a more serious and solid impression if an article appears in a magazine, even if in a conservative. The Atlantic monthly, for instance. There are so many, I just can't think of them all. But I do want all of them tried first before the final decision. You will say that will only delay matters, and in the end the World will refuse, well, that can not be helped. My peace of mind is more important to me. For the sake of that I know you will not be impatient with me. You will make it your business to try once more. Just canvass the magazines if only those published in N. Y. I implore you to do it, sweet heart.

The cable says nothing about other publications having the right to republish my articles. When you finally do go to the World, at least respect, better make sure of it. I would like such papers as the Freie Arbeiter Stimme to be able to republish from the World, then our European Press, London Freedom, the Syndicalist, the papers here, in fact the entire anarchist press will want to republish my articles. I must insist upon that right. Then the Introductory article which you no doubt have by this time, that must go in first. I would like to add to it the few lines inclosed herewith as an explanation why I decided to appear in the World. I must have that, partly to show up the liberal press and mainly that the workers should know that we have tried everything to get a hearing for my articles before we decided upon the World.

To day, I am sending you a general article, a compressed story of the forces that killed the R. R. It comprises about 5000 words and is so arranged that it can be used in separate articles. I think the Mss. should be considered as three articles, anyway, besides that you have three articles, the introduction, Spirdonova and Kropotkin, six in all. I also mean to write an article on the Kronstadt uprising. As I have been in Petrograd during that terrible month, when the butchery of Kronstadt took place, and as I know the facts as probably few others, with the exception of Sahsa, ~~know~~ I will give an authentic story of the whole thing. But perhaps, no publication will want more than six articles. I can treat Kronstadt in some of the anarchist papers and in my book. I feel most keenly on the subject. I think the Kronstadt affair a repetition of the Paris Commune in fact more terrible, since the slaughter of the K. rebels was done by Communists. But as I said, you need not make any condition about with any publication that will accept my other material. *Not*

Darling, I have written you several times that I do not need money now. It is true that money goes like water since we reached here. We spent three hundred Dollars in one month. But I know now, where to shop more reasonably, besides we will have no hotel bill, so we will not spend so much now. And we still have money. We have to spend a lot, trying to get visa. It has been a wild goose chase, so far and has already cost a lot. What will become of it I really don't know. I am waiting to hear what Untermeyer has to say.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 12, Stockholm [to] Carl [Newlander, Hjorkvarn, Sweden] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Stockholm, Feb. 12. 1922.

My dear Carl. I did not mean to keep you waiting so long. But I have been at work on a long article which I finished only yesterday. Sasha too, has just finished a big work, a general article on Russia that will make a 32 paged pamphlet. Mine will be about 24 pages, also a general review of the forces that crushed the Revolution. The trouble is, there is no paper to publish it. We have not heard from Fitzie for several weeks which means that she could not get the liberal magazines to take Sashas stuff. I think the same is the case with Stella. She wrote me some time ago that the World wanted a series of articles. I then wrote back that she must try every liberal publication first and then see the World. Well, yesterday I got a cable from the World of the following nature, "Will give you three hundred Dollars each for five or six articles by you on Bolshevism with stipulation they are to be your own story of disillusionment with system. Will include Spirdonova and Kropotkin articles but (first want) of all to have your own story which Americans eager to know. Will guarantee integrity of articles along these lines and will vest all book rights in your hands. Please answer earliest possible." The World.

I wrote Stella to day to try the liberal magazines once more and to offer them the articles free of charge. I just want to find out why they are refusing and whether they really are under the profitable influence of Moscow. I should of course, prefer to have my articles published in the Nation or Freeman without a penny though we need money. But if they refuse I will not be gagged. I will

accept the offer of the World, then use the money to make a pamphlet of the articles, besides that I will let the European comrades use the articles for pamphlets in different countries. The comrades here want it very much, the comrades in Holland have asked for material. In fact everywhere. I am simply determined to expose the Bolshevik fake, I do not care how.

Unfortunately Sasha is against the idea of the World, for the present anyway. There is much logic in his objections with which I can not but agree, namely that it may attach a stigma to my name.

And many other objections. But if I am going to pay attention to that, I will not be able to do anything to clear up the fog of R. So hard as it will be, to disagree with Sasha, I shall let the World have the articles unless Stella succeeds in placing them somewhere else.

I am inclosing a copy of my last article but I must ask you to send it back, as I have few copies and I shall need every one. Also the copy of my introduction, I have not a one left, please send it back. And if you can let me have the copy of my letter to Breshkovsky. I will return it to you.

There is nothing new about us. A Committee from the Arbeteren called on Brantung and made him understand that he should leave us alone for a while. He said alright but that he could renew our visa only for two weeks at a time. So here we are for the present. But it can not go on indefinitely. There are all sorts of plans in Germany, one may materialize, but I do not cherish it. Its the kind of a thing S. loves, you know what I mean. I prefer the open road, I hate back stairs "diplomacy".... But baggars are no chosers. Then there are several people at work to get us the honest to God visa in Germany. I am not hopeful. Yesterday I heard from the comrade in Prague, Tchecho Slovakai, he is hopeful. But in the end it all comes to nothing. Maybe you can find me an old Swedish farmer who would marry me? I dont care how old he is. Thats the way it is in life Carl, dearest, one is forced to think of steps one never thought possible. But we live in a mad world.

I had a letter from Bessie and wrote her one to day. I told her that you had visited us. Why do you never write her? She has once wrote to you, hasn't she dear? Do write her a line. She will be

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 12, Stockholm [to] Carl [Newlander, Hjorkvarn, Sweden] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 29 × 23 cm.

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will be happy. Women are foolish creatures, they are easily content with little. Do write her.

Shap. has gone away on a little visit. We are very worried. It is the ninth day and no word from him. But there is so much snow in the country, that maybe the reason why he ~~does~~ got stuck. S. also wants to go to some friends, I hate to see him do it. But he is so restless. If he goes, I shall be awfully lonely. I see no one and without the language it is hard to get about. Are you working? If you are not, perhaps you will come in again for a week, if S goes to visit his aunt, then his room will be vacant for a while and there will not be much expense, except the fare. Let me know.

Write again soon.

Affectionately+

*I decided to wait ²⁶ my article. If I give
in a week so you do not have to wait, I will write
you. Then you can read the article too*

1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.*

Tell H. I got his of the 10th. It came the day after I sent my long letter. Tell him I am anxiously waiting to hear from him about his new woman. I am so glad he is with you - it will make you both a great boy. Love to him and you both.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1922 Feb. 16, Stockholm [to] M[a]x Nettelau, Vienna / [Emma? Goldman?]. — 2 p. ; 11 × 14 cm.

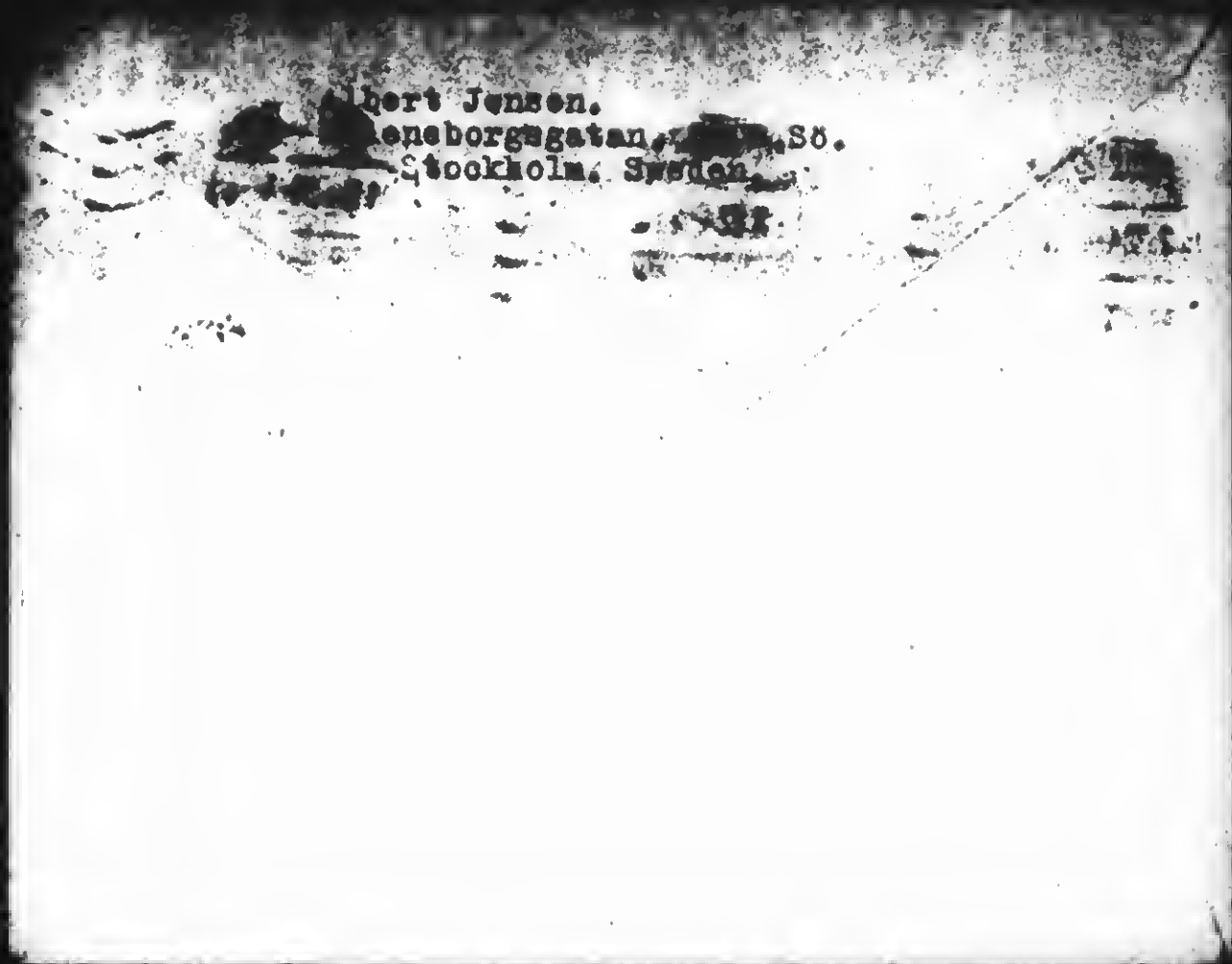
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1922 Feb. 16, Stockholm [to] M[a]x Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma? Goldman?]. — 2 p. ; 11 × 14 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 16, Stockholm [to unknown recipient, New York?] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

My dear Comrade
Dear dear Wash
your worry was unnecessary
Stockholm, Feb. 16th, 1922.
Bolshevik High Social

My dear Comrade.

Alexander tells me that you have asked "what about Emma, where is she?" Joseph Cohn too, asks why do I not write? I have therefore decided to answer both of you. Please let him read the letter. However, it is not for publication.

First of all, I am here, in Stockholm, with Alexander. Secondly, I have written, but I have sent my articles to Stella for her to place them in some liberal publications, if at all possible. The articles are; a general outline on The Forces which crushed the Russian Revolution, an article on the Fate of Marie Spiridonova, a Reminiscence of our Grand Old Man, Peter and an introduction to the first articles setting forth my position towards the enemies of the R. R within Russia and without.

The reason for sending these articles for publication in English magazines or papers first, is that I do now, as I always have, consider the necessity of reaching the English reading public more important than reaching the Jews, or any foreign element. You and the friends of the Fr. Ar. Stime, will, I hope forgive me for that. That does not mean that I do not want my articles to appear in the Fr. Arb. St. Far from it. But I think they can appear there after they have appeared in some native publication. In fact, I have instructed Stella to make the stipulation with whomever will accept my articles, to give me the right of reproduction, either in the anarchist press, or the pamphlet form.

However, from what Stella writes me, Moscow has not only hypnotized most of the socialist and radical papers, but the liberal press even. She writes that so far she has not succeeded in getting any of the liberal magazines to take the articles and it maybe that none of them will. But I have received an offer from the N.Y. World. The offer came by cable last Saturday and reads as follows: "will offer you three hundred Dollars each for five or six articles by you on Bolshevism with stipulation they are your story with of disillusionment with system. Will include Spiridonova and Kropotkin articles but first want of all to have your own story which Americans eager to know. Will guarantee integrity of articles and vest all book rights in your hands."

Now, I am not at all deceived as to the motive of the World. Neither am I unmindful of the effect it may have should my articles appear in that paper. But if the liberal and radical publications actually refuse to bring my criticism of the Communist State, I must either remain silent as far as America is concerned, or I must appear in the World and let my articles speak for themselves. I have consulted three of our old comrades on the matter, Nettlau, Rucker and Harry Kelly. All the three think that I should accept the offer of the World. Alexander on the other hand is opposed to it. He reasons, and not without foundation, that my appearing in the W. may attach a stigma to my name, that in the future it may be construed that I was with the capitalists not only against the Bolsheviks, but also against the Revolution. Frankly, I am not very optimistic of appearing in the W. But, I see no way out unless the liberal magazines take my articles, or at least some of them. I have written Stella to offer them to The Freeman, or the New Republic free of charge. Heaven knows, we need money, not only for ourselves but for our unfortunate victims of the Bolshevik brutality, 1800 Dollars are not to be trifled with. Still, if Stella can place my stuff in the magazines, I shall be ready to forgo the money. If not, I will accept the W. offer, not because of the money but because I consider further silence on the Russian situation a crime. I wonder, dear comrade, what you think of my decision? I wrote Stella to speak to you/b/ before she finally goes to the W.

About my state of mind and spirit, I can not write. The two years in Russia have knocked the bottom out of me. The tragedy of the Russian Revolution which ended in the enslavement of the masses, the terrible suffering of our own comrades have bruised and battered me so that I feel completely crushed and disheartened. I am afraid, the superstition Moscow has created will take more years than I can hope to live I left R. with the determination to do all in my power throw light upon the black picture. Since I arrived in Europe and am able to read the European press, I despair utterly. I see that the Communistic superstition is like the Christian superstition, a poison which has crept into the very blood of the people. Nor have I the right to condemn them, for two years ago, I too had caught the ~~mad~~ Bolshevik fever.

Added to this is our own uncertain position. Do you realize dear comrade that we have the door of the world slammed in our face? The comrades of nearly every country are trying to get visa for us, but it looks hopeless. Germany which was about to give us the right of entry was lost owing to a Bolshevik Tokelist, who informed the Consul at Riga that we were dangerous Bolshevik agents. That was also responsible for our arrest by the Latvian authorities. Since then our German friends

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[Letter] 1922 Feb. 16, Stockholm [to unknown recipient, New York?] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

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2.

are leaving nothing undone to change the refusal of the German foreign office. I do not think they will succeed. In Austria, Nettlan is trying to get visa. F Adler has promised him to help. But it does not look very favorable. In Holland, the comrades also are trying, but Holland has been very reactionary. I have also written to French comrades and to Keell. To the latter I suggested he should approach Bernard Shaw who might help. But the fact of the matter is, no one outside our own comrades is particularly anxious to intercede for us. And our people have not the right connections. I do not know what will become of the situation. But it is a terrible feeling to be so utterly adrift and with no sign of a shore where one may anchor. It makes one so restless and depressed, very difficult to do serious work. But enough of ourselves, there are more tragic conditions than ours, it is of them I want to speak to you and the Freie Arb Stimme about.

Our comrades who have been tarred out of Russia by the Bolshevik ruthless brutality. I received letters from them to day. They are in a desperate condition. They are in Stuttgart under police surveillance, must report twice a day and have now been told that they must leave Prussia. Where are they to go? They can not get away illegally if they tried as they are being closely watched, they were sent out on rotten papers with war prisoners of Czechoslovakia. They have no money. What is to be done? It is absolutely necessary to start a campaign, at least through your paper and in the Jewish unions to bring their condition before the workers. One of the comrades, Mark Krachny, a highly cultured fellow, one of the finest types I have seen in my fortune to meet in Russia, has sent me a Jewish Mass which I am forwarding to you. It will prove valuable to the Freie Arb. St. and will help in the campaign for our destitute comrades. I hope you will bring it and that you will send him something for the article. Mark will prove an invaluable contributor as he has been with the Revolution from the beginning, has worked in the schools and colleges of the Bolsheviks and knows every phase of persecution. Please help him and write to him. He can be reached by the following address: Mile Riss oppo Steglitz, Bismarkstrasse, N. 75. Berlin. Have two envelopes, write on the inside sealed envelope for Later I will ~~write him something for the article~~ I would do so now but I want to see the syndicalist paper first, it may publish it right away and pay for it a little. The paper is a daily.

Have just read what I wrote to Alexander, he suggests that you should have an editorial and open a fund for these people. Why are they less entitled to help than the famine stricken people of Russia. In their case the Bolsheviks are directly responsible for the misery of our comrades. Please do what you can. Above all send Mark Krachny something for his article and ask him to contribute.

How are you dear comrade? How are the children, Jessie and your boy and grandson? Give them my love. Remember me affectionately to Joseph Cohn and the other comrades. Even if I have not written, I have not forgotten any one of you. Affectionate greetings to you, dear friend and comrade.

Just as soon the fate of my articles is decided, I will ask you to publish them in the Freie Arb. St. and if possible also in pamphlet form. Perhaps we could then sell a pamphlet like that for our unhappy comrades who had given their blood during the Revolution and have now been kicked out by the machine that has crushed the Revolution.

You can publish the part about our comrades not about our own condition.

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Dear Comrade, I should have written you sooner, if I had anything definite to convey. But the position continues to be so uncertain and harrassing, it grows tiresome to repeat it. The short of the story is we have no encouragement from anywhere. Nothing definite and positive. Bettlau has been promised by F. Adler that he would see to it that the matter would receive no one "busy" with state affairs. However, even in the country, at least he was when Bettlau wrote last. And now that must be clear reasons, anyhow, I have no hopes. The same about Moscow. I am now getting reports from you that Paul Kampmann is coming to see me in Berlin. He is his nephew and that he would have surely been a very good man for a Bolshevik informant. He married the daughter of a very famous Bolshevik agent. That settled the matter at once as far as in Germany and also resulted in our arrest. Even after the arrest we have tried hard to get the minister of foreign affairs to consider his personal and give us a visa. But nothing was accomplished. I don't not think anything will come of it. I have also written friends in Paris and London, but have had no answer and do not expect one. There is just a very meagre change in Paris. Comrade there is working on the case, but I really dare not hope for much. Frankly, I am pretty much discouraged.

Here the situation stands like this, a committee from the Arbeteren called on Branting and made it clear that he must leave us alone for a while. He said allright, but told them we would have to come to the passport bureau every two weeks to renew visa, as he could not give us a long stay all at once. However, to day there is a new attack on Branting in the reactionary papers, a story about the International Anarchist Union which is to have its seat here with us as the main representatives. The paper has been wired from Helsinki and is supposed to have appeared in the press, so, send me a copy at once. As a matter of fact the Swedish courides have decided against having the bureau here. That has nothing to do with the intellectual force, or the means. And we can not be bound by a Bulletin or a bureau even if we could remain in Sweden. We have our work about this is to do and we must get somewhere, where life is cheap and where we can do some publishing, that means, we can not be bound in one place. So you see that the story in the papers is only to call attention to our being here and to force Branting to send us out. I do not believe he will do it in an hurry. Still our position is a desperate one.

Speaking of publishing, the influence of Moscow is terrific. Even the liberal press in America is poisoned. I have sent five articles to be placed somewhere in the liberal magazines. My niece writes that while she has not yet tried all, it looks very hopeless, most of the magazines will not take criticisms of Russia, so here you are. I have however received an offer from the N Y World. They want five or six articles, they pledge themselves to bring every word I write and they offer three hundred Dollars for each article. As you know the W. is a capitalist daily, not exactly the place where one likes to appear with articles on Russia. But if the liberal press proves itself poisoned by Moscow, I am placed in the position of being gagged, (as our own press in English has been suppressed) or having to accept the offer of the W. I have asked my niece to make one more supreme effort, to offer my articles to the liberal magazines free of charge. I realize that we can ill afford to give up 1800 Dollars. We ourselves are nearly broke. But more terrible is the condition of our Russian comrades who have been expelled from Russia. They are starving, they have been ordered out of Prussia, where they are now, they have no papers and have no place to go. They need money badly. Still, if I could get my articles in the liberal magazines, I should prefer it to the W. because the money would be greater than the good the money could do.

However, wherever it is that the anarchist press shows that you can make a mistake, it is an indication that the anarchist press is making the bond with the right of the anarchist press.

Alexander writes of the first
 meeting of his new friends
 with a spirit of joy and
 hope, which the
 others find
 of a different

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 17, Stockholm [to Rudolf Grossmann, Klosterneuburg, Austria] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Pierre Ramus Archive.

of no interest in the matter. I am not interested in receiving the
foreign money. I am not interested in receiving the money. I do not want to
say that the thing was decided. I am not interested in receiving the money.
the American people are not interested in receiving the money. I do not want to
America. I am not interested in receiving the money. I do not want to
offer.

I am terribly sorry that the appeal for our comrades is delayed in
your paper. I understand the situation. But really, I do not think
anything will come of the appeal. You must use your judgment
but as far as we are concerned, we would like you to publish the
appeal.

If anything comes of the Czechoslovakian visa, we will have
to go through Germany and Austria. Then we will meet. Otherwise I fear
it will be a long time before we can gain meet, dear comrade. And I am
not at all hopeful about the Czech government.

Kindest regards to your family. Fraternal greeting
to the comrades.

Affectionately

E. G.

Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1922 March 2, Stockholm [to Mark Mratchny, Berlin?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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Stockholm March 2nd. 1922

Lieber Freund. Gestern fing ich einen Brief an Sie an, musste aber aufhören da das Band dieser Maschine nicht arbeitete. Heute habe ich endlich ein neues Band. Es kann also lossgehen. Ich hätte Ihnen überhaupt schon längst geschrieben, aber ich arbeitete an zwei Sachen, die ich nicht aus der Hand lassen konnte, einen Aufsatz über Das Kind in Russland und eine biographische Skizze von Berkman. Letzteres musste ich tun denn die Genossen gaben mir keine Ruhe. Es wurde mir nicht leicht, das dürfen Sie mir glauben. Denn objective zu sein einem Menschen gegenüber dem man 30 Jahre nahe gestanden ist, ist keine Kleinigkeit. Aber ich glaube es ist mir gelungen. Sie werden ja die Skizze zu sehen bekommen, in der Übersetzung.

Ich habe alle Ihre Briefe, Maximoffs and Yartchuks erhalten, aber wie gesagt, ich musste zuerst meine Arbeit endigen. Heute kann ich ~~Ich~~ nur Ihnen schreiben, den Andern schreibe ich auch recht bald. Ausserdem können Sie ja wenn Sie wollen diese Zeilen den Andern zeigen.

Zuerst betrifft Ihre Auseinandersetzung wegen den doppelten Fund der in Berlin existiert. Es tut mir sehr leid, aber ich habe es mir stets zur Aufgabe gemacht mich nie in die lokale Angelegenheit der Genossen zu mischen, deswegen wäre es mir unmöglich den Genossen vom Syndicalist, oder Freien Arbeiter zu sagen sie sollten Ihre Forderungen veranlassen. Es wurde ~~ja~~ ja auch nichts nutz, denn die Anarchisten sind eben so veranlagt, dass jeder sein eigen "Klaisel" haben muss. Ich habe es in Russland zwei Jahre versucht die Anarchisten zu vereinigen, es hat nichts genützt. Wie sollte es in Deutschland gelingen? Es ist eben eine unheilbare Krankheit von denen gerade die Anarchisten leiden. Und ich bin ein schlechter Seelsorger. Sie und die Andern müssen mir schon verzeihen, wenn ich mich nicht in Geldangelegenheiten mische.

Nun zur zweiten Angelegenheit, Ihre literarische Arbeiten, und die Arbeit der Andern, Alexander hat ihnen wohl schon darüber geschrieben, ich kann mich nur dem anschliessen, es würde eine nutzlose Arbeit sein, Alles erst in verschiedene Sprachen zu übersetzen, ersüch haben wir wirklich keine Zeit dazu, denn ausser der Arbeit die wir über Russland an der Hand haben, müssen wir recht bald an Etwas Grösseres, unsere Bücher heran, und das ist eine schwere und mühsame Arbeit, die nicht leicht durch tausend andere Arbeiten verdrängt werden dürfen. Dazu kommt die Tatsache, dass unsere Korrespondenz, die zwei Jahre abgeschnitten war, sich wieder vermehrt und mit jedem Tag vielfältiger werden wird. Das Alles nimmt Zeit. Somit wird es uns unmöglich sein auch noch Übersetzungen zu machen. Auch ist es gar nicht notwendig. Ich hoffe Sie verstehen mich nicht falsch, dass Sie nicht glauben ich habe schon mein Interesse in Sie verloren, oder will nicht helfen. Gewiss nicht lieber Mark. Wo meine Stütze notwendig sein wird, werde ich sie aus vollem Herzen geben, aber Sie, Jartchuk and Maximoff könnene ganz getrost ~~Ich~~ Ihre Beiträge in Yiddish, und Russisch an unsere Presse senden. Freedom, Syndicalist Arbeteren, und alle andern Zeitungen können die Übersetzung selbst besorgen und werden es gern tun. Die Yidische Presse können Sie und Jartchuk mit Originale versehen, die Französische ebenfalls.

Was unsere Unterschrift anbetrifft, so können Sie natürlich darauf rechnen. Ich jedenfalls betrachte die Arbeit die Ihr für Russland vorhabt so wichtig, dass ich Euch in jeder Weise behilflich sein will und werde. Alexander und ich haben die Yidische Exemplare des Aufrufs unterschrieben, Sie und die Andern können unsere Namen für die andern Zeitungen hinzufügen. Später werde ich selbst an alle unsere Zeitungen schreiben sie mögen die Zeitschrift, die

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 2, Stockholm [to Mark Mratchny, Berlin?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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Ihr heraus zu geben gedenkt, stützen. Dass ich mein Wort halten werde sobald meine Artikel in der World erscheinen, das können Sie ganz sicher sein. Ja, ich habe mich endlich entschlossen das Anerbieten der World anzunehmen. Ich denke die sieben Beiträge die ich der World schickte werden jetzt bald erscheinen. Ich werde dann sofort das Material der anarchistischen Presse übergeben und nur verlangen das der Ertrag von dem Verkauf der Brochure für die Arbeit die Sie, J. und M. vorhaben gegeben wird, ich will von den anarchistischen Gruppen keine Bezahlung für meine Arbeit.

Sagen Sie, bitte dem guten Jarchuk dass ich vorläufig an keine Englische Zeitung denke. Ich war 12 Jahre lang durch eine Zeitschrift versklavt, musste "Mother Earth" fast allein auf meine Schulter tragen und ewig herum reisen um die Mittel aufzubringen. Ich habe oft gesagt, das keine Liebes-Affaire und kein Kind mich so hätte versklaven können wie M. E. Ich habe daher keine Lust mich wieder so zu binden. Umsomehr da ich ja in Europa keine Möglichkeit hätte Vorträge zu halten, oder damit Gelder aufzubringen. Überhaupt ~~ich~~ habe keine Pläne, als nur meine Eindrücke in Russland nieder zu schreiben und ihnen und den andern in der Arbeit für Russland zu helfen. Ja, wenn ich nach America könnte, das wäre etwas Anderes, aber aus dem wird wohl nichts.

Wir sind noch immer in Ungewissheit was ~~xxxx~~ aus uns werden soll, man lässt uns hier in Ruhe, das ist etwas, aber wann man sein eigenes ich überall mitherumschleppt, so giebt es keine Ruhe, nicht für solche grosse Sunder meines Schlages. Ihr Zettelchen für Moscow get ab.

Herzliche Grusse an Ihre Leidensgenossen, an Jartchuk, Olya Maximoff. Was ist aus den andern geworden?

Sie innig grussend. Ihre Freundin.

Emma

Ihr Artikel ist im Brand erschienen, ich sende es Ihnen.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 4, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

Stockholm March 4th. 1922.

My dear, good comrade.

Please forgive me for my prolonged silence. I was at work on several things which had to be finished, hence I was unable to keep up my correspondence. Thursday evening when I came home I found your letter with the news about the visa. To day I sent a comrade down to find out whether the order had arrived, of course it has not. In fact, I did not really think it would so soon. I know the snail like movements of bureaucracy. I am just having a dose of it from the Czechs. The comrade there who has been working on the visa for us, wrote me that they had been granted and would be sent by wire to Stockholm. I allowed several days to go by before I called, of course, there was no visa. I wired the comrade and received a reply that the visa had been sent by letter. Added to this came an explanation from the comrade informing me that the visa had been sent the 20th of last month to Stockholm, he then gave me the number of the visa which he had been shown at the Czech Embassy. Well, this morning no letter had yet arrived. That means the letter was either not sent at all, delayed somewhere, or lost altogether, for it certainly does not need four teen days for a letter to reach Stockholm from Prag.

The same will probably happen with the Austrian visa. The "Lord" give me patience. You write that I should let Ramus know about quaters. I can not do that for two reasons, first, I must have the visa on my passport before I would actually believe the government promise. I know the worth of a politicians word and I never lay stook in it. I must therefore wait for the visa. Secondly, I might just as well confess that my request for the Austrian or Czechoslovakian visa was more a pretext to be able to get to Germany than anything else. I have hopes to be able to remain in Germany, if I once get there. It is the cheapest place to live and its syndicalist movement attracts me considerably. There are many other reasons why I should prefer Germany to Austria or Czechoslovakia.

Now, we have had a letter from Rudolf R. of a very mysterious nature, we are to be called to the German Embassy here and be given visa. No explanation. We have not much faith in it. If the Austrian visa would arrive, we'd grab it. Get German transit visa then see R. and find out our chances for remaining there. If that is impossible we'll come to Vienna. But you can see ~~yourself~~ yourself that we can not bind ourselves with living quaters until we know definitely where we are going to live. It is too bad, but we'll simply have to pay a little more if nothing comes of the German proposition. If I should write Grossman to go ahead, and then could not come to V. I we would have to sustain a loss anyhow, so the matter must wait a little while longer.

We were very much amused over you report about Dr Stein bach. I am sure my American friend will be amused, she has a fine sense of humor. I am sure that her reasons for wanting to try the "marvelous" cure of the doctor wasn't to restore her youth, as a matter of fact, she is still a young woman. She thought he can restore her strength which has been very low owing to the removal of a kidney. However, it was worth finding out what the doctor is doing, though I fear she may not come now and I did so want to see her. She is all together a rare character.

I have finally decided to accept the offer of the World. I have ~~sent~~ sent them 15,000 words which will comprise about seven articles which they wanted. They will bring the introduction, then two articles dealing with the various things I treated, the one I sent Kelly. After that, an article on the Child in Russia, one on the last years of Peter, and one about the fate of ~~the~~

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

Sparks. Just as soon as the articles have appeared in the R. I will turn the material over to the anarchist press, either to appear there, or to have the whole thing published in pamphlet form. After that and when I am settled I will begin the work on my Russian experience which must come out of my system if I am to find peace of mind.

You speak of documentary evidence, that unfortunately could not be taken out from Russia. We did however manage to send out a lot of stuff through some of the delegates which is now in the hands of Becker. Also, and that is most important, the Diary which Berkman kept almost from the first day of our arrival and which we thought lost, has been found, that will furnish accurate dates, names and places. For the rest, only the future will furnish the historic material. The Tcheka like the Csars Ochrana, has a perfect mint of material, the Museum of the Revolution for which we worked has a tremendous lot. But for the present all of it is inaccessible, I mean to be taken out or even studied in Russia. I know that is a great drawback in our work but it can not be helped. After all, we are giving something of our own observation and reactions, which is the living thing not the documentary, so much. It will have to be judged accordingly.

I am sending you some American exchange and will also see that you receive the missing copy of Brand and whatever there is of Scandinavian labor papers. When I am once settled somewhere I will get a great many exchange and will then send them to you. I thought as a great collector you would be nearly on every list.

Have received a postal from Harry en route, he seems to feel much better.

I must close now in this is to leave to day. I will keep you posted about the news at the Embassy here. It in the order does not arrived/ soon, it maybe necessary to ask your professor to grease the machinery of State. Rotten machinery isn't?

Good by dear comrade and thanks for your efforts.

46-

So sorry to hear about Dave. I wish I could help him a little. Yes, indeed I know Goldsmith. Victor and I had many little "conspiracies" against her. She is a dear woman, but a bit too old fashioned and old maidish for me. She may have changed since the element of love has entered her life. I hope so for the "good of humanity" Don't think me too mischievous.

I am glad you do not feel as I did about the "Confessions". Perhaps when I will reread it away from Russia I may receive a different impression. It was very depressing to me then.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1922 March 5, Stockholm, [to Alice Stone] Blackwell, [Boston?] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: National American Women's Suffrage Association.

NAWSA, Box 13, LC

Stockholm. March 5th. 1922.

My dear Miss Blackwell.

My niece sent me your letter of Feb 6th. Thank you very much for your kind concern in me. The reports regarding my health have not been true. I have been in fairly good physical condition while in Russia and am quite alright now. But there are worse ills than that of the body. The great Russian tragedy, the Revolution crushed—has been more to me than any physical pain could possibly be. In fact, there is nothing in one's own life quite so agonizing than to see the collective spirit, aspirations and hopes hulled from their heights. Poor Babushka, how we all criticised her. Yet every word she said two years ago was based on facts. How little we understood what the crushing machine that Bolshevik State must have meant to her. Of course, it was unfortunate that she should have lent her name and approval to the interventionists, but as to her criticism of the regime and its methods, I doubted them two years ago. Now I know, after I myself have fought against the truth that Babushka spoke the truth, and no one would hear her.

When I left Russia I hoped that the liberal press would be willing to accept a true and authentic story of the forces that crushed the Russian Revolution. Fancy my amazement when I discovered that nearly the whole liberal press is under the sway of that terrible delusion which confuses the Bolshevik government with the marvelous thing the people of Russia had done, the Russian Revolution. Yet it is imperative that the world should now the story of the martyrdom of the Russian people, martyred not only by the interventionists, but by their own flesh and blood, the Bolsheviks. With the liberal press unwilling to give space to the facts I have gathered, I found myself before the alternative of either silence, or the N Y World. The latter has made me an offer to bring a series of articles on Russia. I have accepted the offer. Now I will be classed a counter-revolutionist and other such fancy things. But that can not be helped, one must be true to oneself, at any cost.

So far we have not been able to secure the right of entry into any country. Here, we are not exactly worried, but it is understood that we must leave just as soon as some other country will grant us visa. If people of the wilds are surely more hospitable and humane than the Christian nations. However, I have been informed that the Austrian and Czechoslovakian governments have issued visa for us though they have not yet arrived. But even if they actually do, it will mean on condition of inactivity in the respective country. The dreadful war and the spectre of the Russian Revolution has so terrorized those who hold the reins of power that they dread nothing so much as the untrammled voice of criticism. But one has no right to complain, if one is unwilling to keep silent on the world pressing questions, one must be willing to pay the price. But it is not always easy. Then too when one is younger one can easily take root. I find that most difficult now. Not even in Russia, the country of my birth and one I loved passionately all my life, not even there could I take root.

I learned from a friend in Prague that Babushka has grown very, very old and feeble, she has sent me word that she is anxiously awaiting my arrival. I would like to see her again but I do not really believe I will get to Prague.

How have you been dear Miss Blackwell? I hope well at least and active as usual. Please remember me to Miss Dudley, I have not forgotten her. And Miss Wald, I have thought of her often and of you during my stay in Russia. You have always loved Russia and have done so much for her and her people.

Mail will reach me here, if you write please use

Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 5, Stockholm, [to Alice Stone] Blackwell, [Boston?] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: National American Women's Suffrage Association.

double envelopes, the inside to contain my name, the outside
Albert Jensen.

Heleneborgsgatan 25. B.
Stockholm Sö.

I will be very glad to hear from you. Thank you again for your interest in my welfare. It is soothing to know that friends in America have not forgotten me.

Faithfully.

Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

870927046

[Letter] 1922 March 6, Stockholm [to Stella Ballantine, New York] / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p. ; 28 x 23 cm.

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Stockholm. March 6th. 1922.

My dearest. I have not written for a week. The visa business got on my nerves terribly and S. is so ridged, it takes all the power of persuasion I can muster up to keep him from plunging into some desperate act, so that too, is a strain on my nerves. Our situation is as follows, ten days ago I was notified by a friend from Prague that a visa for me had been sent to the Czechoslovakian Ambacy here, but so far nothing has arrived. The visa was sent the 20th of last month, two weeks ago, it must have gotten lost somehow. I am now waiting for the return of our young friend who has been our interpretator and guide, a lovely Swede, he again went to the Czech Ambacy to inquire. If nothing has come I will wire to Prague.

Then, last Friday, I had a letter from Max Nettian informing me that the Austrian government has decided to give us visa. That too, has not yet arrived, but it will now doubt. Last but not least, Rooker wrote a week ago that we will soon be "invited" by the German Ambacy in this city and will be given visa. If all this fine promises will come to pass, we will be like the much courted young lady, we'll be in a quandry whome to choose and like her may remain old maids. Take for instance, the Czechoslovakian visa, it will be only for myself. S. in one of his contrary moods wrote our friend in Prague not to bother about him, of course the man asked only for my visa. If it comes, I will not be able to go unless S. too has visa. ~~xxx~~ by that time, for I certainly will not leave him behind. In fact if we get visa at all, it will be due to my persistent grind at our friends in every country. S. simply would not hear of applying for visa. He wanted to go the sub rosa way. You know how very much he always enjoyed such methods. But I bulked as far as I am concerned, I know what it means to be a haunted animal. That is why I have written everybody I could think of, and everyone has been at work trying to help us. I even got a letter from Cornelissen last week that he hopes to get a visa for us from the French foreign office. I don't think he will, and it will not be necessary if the others arrive. I am sure something will come this week. But one must have iron nerves and no end of patience.

Aline was to come here by the middle of this month as she expects to sail for America in April. It may just happen that we will miss each other because if we get visa we will leave here at once. However, I will try to reach her by wire to meet me in Germany, if we get visa. You see dearest, we must go through Germany wherever we go, Austria, Czechoslovakie, or even France. In fact, all the other visa are mere means to the end as we want to remain in Germany for a time. It is the cheapest place to live and we can do much work there, publishing would cost less than anywhere else. I refer to that as we mean to publish our articles in pamphlets from ~~xxx~~ in English for America and England. We may even have to publish our books for I have a sneaky feeling that no one will take ~~xxx~~ them. I have not heard from Alsberg, I wonder did he approach the Spingarn firm and did they refuse. Anyway, Germany is the most practical and once in there on transit visa, I think we will be able to remain. If not we will go to Austria though I should prefer Prague, it is an interesting city.

With so many irons in the fire you can see why I have asked you in my radio not to book passage so soon. I must know where I am going to land before you start, otherwise it may prove a wild goose chase to get together. Also the question of quarters is so hard everywhere. If you are to spend the summer with me or as much of it as you want, I will have to get another place than if I were alone, because staying in a Hotel with Ian will bust you up. For that and many other reasons I would rather not have you come on until I am settled. But I think this question will soon be arranged, unless Austria and the Czechs change their mind. I will cable you the moment I get the visa, then you can immediately book your

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passage. I wonder did you receive my radios? They are cheaper than cabbles / especially night radios come to only 50öre a word, about ten cents a word. The Krone stands terribly high. When we arrived we got 3,95 for the Dollar, now it is 3,52. And the prices for everything are fierce.

I am wondering why I had no reply from Mr Swope to my last cable. I had hoped he would send me one when my main article arrived, you should have gotten that about the 26th of last month, it is the principle article which deals with the forces that crushed the R. R. I sent a copy to Bessie Kimmelman, in case the one to you got lost. I am anxious to know how Mr Swope will arrange as to the number of articles, I mean now he will figure. You will have about 15,000 words which should be considered fully seven articles. The last one I sent the 25th on the Child in Russia. Perhaps I will cable Swope. I had a letter from the Berlin house of the World that arrangements have been made from their office with Copenhagen cable company to give me credit on cables. I don't know whether that order has arrived here or not. I am to know about it to day. If it has I will cable to night, as I am really anxious about the material I sent. Darling you must make arrangements that I get a number of copies of the World when my articles begin appearing, I will need them. I would also like that copies should be sent to a few friends in America, Kitty Beck, Mr Wood, Alice Stone Blackwell, (I wrote her yesterday) and a few others. Will you see about it dearest. This morning I had a cable from Spivak whom I remember as a very disagreeable fellow, he is Abrams brother-in-law, to this effect; urge Emma cancellation articles in World action harms movement. I suppose that is only the beginning. "Movement" as if anything which perpetuates a lie can have value to a movement. Would like to know what that movement consists of. Don't think I mind. I was perfectly clear on the results of consenting to the W offer. That is why I battled so long against my decision, but now that I have made up my mind, no one is going to make me change it. "movement" indeed. Hell of a lot did that movement do since we left America. I know the Spivak type, insects that hate anything and everything that pulls them towards the light, towards some large vision. Lies and falsehoods ~~and these phrases~~ are what they thrive on. I wonder, did the fellow really think he could influence me to change my mind. And where did he get my address?

The comrades here have worried me to write a little biographic sketch about Alex which I did. I inclose copy. After you have read it please turn it over to the Freie Arb. St. also the note, ~~Sasha~~ Sasha who wants to remain what he calls consistent, wants his articles published in pamphlet form by the anarchist publications. He is welcome to it. The comrades here are getting out a pamphlet in Sweden and as S is practically unknown abroad they asked me for the sketch. I think the Fr. Arb. Stimme too might want to use it. The Dutch anarchists will bring it and possibly all the others in Europe. I am glad, it will bring our Sasha nearer to his comrades. It was not easy to write the sketch, especially as I was limited by space, but I think it is not bad. Let me know how it strikes you. And dearest, you have said nothing about my work on Russia. Did you not like it, did it seem too harsh? Please write.

Darling you are mistaken, I do not want people to act as I do. I do not condemn or blame them if they are themselves. I only grow impatient when they pretend to be something else than what they are. When we read Eastmans review of his talk with Shliapin Sasha and I wanted hawl. Such a fake, such outrageous fake. Not one word of truth did Shal. say. He share with the starving Russian people, it is a farce. Do I want Shliapin to be a revolutionist? Indeed not. He is an artist and he need be nothing else. But he should then have the courage to be nothing else. Not pretend that he has any feeling for or understanding of the Revolution, or that he would share with the people. Its disgusting that

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all. I am going to send Eastmans article to Russia so it should be translated and circulated among the unfortunate artists who unable to sing as Shaliapin could cringe were really starving while he dined and wined in plenty. At least let them know what a fake the man is though of course everybody in Russia knows Shaliapin. Just think of it, many of his colleagues, artists everybit as good as he were in the Toheka and shot, Sh. was appealed to intercede for them, never a word of protest. He had to keep on the right side of the Kreml thats why. Thus Sh is the hero and Alexander Block the only Russian artist who has created some thing during the last four years, he is allowed to starve to death and die of a broken heart because of the fake of the artists a la Gorki and Sh. and the bitter defeat of the Revolution. No I do not want any one to act as I do. Heaven knows I was not constant. If I had been I should have done something desperate even if I had been shot for it. But I can not stand cant, I resent the cant of the defenders of the Russian people who have done nothing but used the m for their needs. Yes, Sh is an artist, a great artist, but he is rotten as a man and a coward to boot.

What about Sabbes article in the W. has it appeared? Be sure to send us the clippings when the W brings our stuff. Ask Mr Swops to send us the paper regularly.

No visa from any of the countries mentioned. The cable Co has had no word from Copenhagen. But it promised to cable there and find out whether the authorization of the W. had arrived. I may have an answer tomorrow I will then send Mr Swops a cable.

Goodby darling mine, please dont think me a blind fanatic. I never was that and am even less of it now. I have too many frailties myself to sit in judgement over others. And I have seen the horrors of judgement, the brutalizing effect it has on people. I never, never want to be that.

I had a letter from Ellen K. Give her my love. I will write her soon.

I hold you very close dearest mine. I look forward to your coming and to my meeting my precious baby boy. Did he have a nice party? Soon your birthday will be I hope you will receive our gifts in time. Saba especially sent you a beautiful thing.

Love to Ian and million of kisses. Love to Fitzie, Ned, and all our friends. Love to dear Teddy. Tell him to go to the tip top inn, it is the nicest and quietest place. Tell him to drink to my love for him.

Devotedly

Emma

Kelly, address of Sir Vander Meer
405 Collins Bldg
Cable

Mr Nodd
1601 Taylor St
San Francisco

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1922 March 6, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, Stockholm (government transcript)] / International Anarchist Aid Federation. — 3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.
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GENERAL INTELLIGENCE

OCT 14 1922 L.A. File 3180/10
DIVISION

ATTENTION: MR. HOOVER--F2.

Los Angeles, Cal. :: Oct. 5th, 1922 :: Oct. 5th: ...

EMMA GOLDMAN

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

ANARCHIST
ACTIVITIES

61-291

At Los Angeles, Cal.-

Reference is made to report re: JOSEPH SPIVAK, et al.,
ANARCHIST ACTIVITIES, by Agent, at Los Angeles, Cal., this date:

The following letter from EMMA GOLDMAN was taken from among
the papers of JOSEPH SPIVAK at 2906 Brooklyn Ave., Los Angeles,
Calif., October 4th, 1922.

New York, March 6, 1922

Dear Conrad Emma.

No doubt you have received our cable in which we urged
you to cancel the publication of your articles in the
World. We know that before you agreed to write for the
N.Y. World you have consulted some of your American friends.
Those friends, however, who used their influence to have you
taken such a step, are not in close connection with the
movement and have conveyed a wrong impression as to the
stand that the American comrades will take upon this
question. Also the possibilities of giving the story a
wide publicity and circulation.

We claim that, by printing your story in a pamphlet form,
we could reach a circulation that no other news paper could do.

We are an organization consisting at present of 15 groups,
including Russian, Jewish, Italian, English and Spanish
speaking groups. We feel that we can easily print your
story in thousands of copies in each language, and thus
circulate among the public the truth about Russia.

It is not the number of copies that a certain story is
printed that counts. It is the channels through which it is
printed that count, that has the power to make the readers
believe or disbelieve in these stories.

We wish to make it clear, that, it is not your own
personality which will probably suffer, that concerns us.
Your present ability to pour a concern. It is the interest

... 3: ...

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A.A. HOPKINS:

October 5, 1922...

PAGE - 2

RE: EMMA GOLDMAN--

cause, the cause of the Russian prisoners which will suffer as a result of this step, because the people will lose confidence in you. That is what concerns us, and which we would wish to avoid.

We can see from your letter to a certain individual, that, you have carefully considered everything before you decided to take such a step, and it is only through misjudging the possibility of giving your story a wide publicity through anarchist channels, that you have made such a step.

You and Sasha were practically the first, in whom we have confidence, who called our attention to the conditions of the Anarchists in Russia and that aid is urgently needed. You are aware of the fact that we can't seek any aid among the capitalist thinking opponents of the Russian government.

They may be enemies of the Bolsheviks, but are in a still higher degree enemies of the Anarchists, and will never have any sympathy for them. We therefore, have to seek aid among the more radical workers, who believe in the Russian government and who know nothing about what is really going on there. In order to gain the support of these elements it is first necessary to tell them about the conditions as they exist in Russia, and to make them believe in these facts.

This task, however, is a very hard one, it is not so easy, for one who has been told during the past three years, that, the Russian Government is fighting for freedom of the world, to make him believe that, this very same government commits all the crimes which you and other Russian refugees have ascribed to them.

It is not so easy to take from one away his "god." The Bolsheviks were the God of the radical workers and even of most of the Anarchists. They will resist any attempt to take this "god" away from them. They will try to find dishonesty in any thing that will be told about Russia, and it is for us to present these facts to them in such a manner, through such channels, that no impurity, nothing that can throw a shadow of prejudice or dishonesty shall be possible.

The appearance of your articles in a capitalist publication, a publication that was always a friend of counter-revolution, will, like the followers of the Bolsheviks, the strongest weapon to discredit the contents. These articles will not only not accomplish their aim, but will have a counter effect upon the worshippers of the Soviet Government. It is true, they will reach thousands of "readers", but it is not the capitalist opponents of the Bolsheviks that we want to reach. We wish to reach every radical worker, especially the followers of the

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870708047

[Letter] 1922 March 6, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, Stockholm (government transcript)] / International Anarchist Aid Federation. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

A. A. HOPKINS:

October 5th, 1922..

Page-3

(RE: EMMA GOLDMAN)

Bolsheviki and THEY DO NOT BELIEVE IN WHAT IS PRINTED IN
N.Y. WORLD. TO BELIEVE ANY ONE WHO IS SELLING OUT FOR WHITES
THE N.Y. WORLD IS A TRAITOR AND CAN'T BE BELIEVED.

The appeal for Russia, which was signed by you, Sasha and Shapiro has had a wonderful effect upon the workers. It acted upon the minds of the workers as a good antidote to the Bolshevik Anaesthetic.

The workers believe you because they know you and they know the F.A.S. and the other anarchist publications where that appeal was printed. The workers began to open their eyes to the truth. They did not like this truth, but they had no way how to discredit same. We have immediately organized the international An. Aid Federation and our work is very promising. We are however, sure that, as soon as your first article will appear in the N.Y. World it will discredit anything told against the Russian government and we will have to give up our work. Not only this, it will injure the movement for many years to come.

We are certain that there is nothing behind your move, other than the interests of the anarchist cause; you have, however, never referred to the active groups for advice, as to how your story can best be circulated. You have left this matter to one who is not in the movement, is not connected with any one who is active and has not consulted anyone who is active in the movement. And based upon the information obtained from this person, you have made your decision.

We are certain, that if you would have referred direct to the groups, we would have shown you a better way how to bring the truth about Russia to the people.

We know, that the cause of Anarchism, the cause of the Anarchists in Russian prisons is dear to you, and in the name of this cause, we urge you to cancel the publication of the articles in the N.Y. World.

Yours for freedom of mankind,

International Anarchist Aid Federation,

Geo. Y."

APPROVED

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1922] March 6, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, Stockholm] / Jo[s]e[ph] Spivak. — 2 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13850

NEW YORK March 6th.

Dear comrade Emma.

No doubt you received our cable in which we urged you to cancel the publication of your articles in the N Y World.

We know, that before you agreed to write for the World you have consulted some of your American friends. These friends, however, who used their influence to have you take such a step, are not in close connection with the movement and have conveyed a wrong impression as to the stand that the American comrades will take upon this question. Also the possibility of giving the story a wide publicity and circulation.

We claim, that by printing your story in a pamphlet form we could reach a circulation that no news paper could do.

We are an organization consisting of 15 groups, including Russian, Jewish, Italians, Spanish and English speaking groups. We feel that we could easily print your story in thousands of copies in each language, and thus circulate among the public the truth about Russia.

It is not the number of copies that a certain story is printed that counts, it is the channels through which it is circulated. Printed that counts, that has the power to make the reader believe or disbelieve in these stories.

We wish to make it clear that it is not your own personality which will probably suffer, that concerns us. Your personality is your own concern. It is the anarchist cause, the cause of the Russian prisoners which will suffer as a result of this step, and because people will lose confidence in you. That is what concerns us, and which we would wish to avoid.

We can see from your letter to a certain individual, that you have carefully considered everything before you decided to take such a step, and it is only through misjudging the possibility of giving your story a wide publicity through anarchist channels, that you have made such a step.

You and Sasha were practically the first, in whom we have confidence, who called our attention to the conditions of the Russian Anarchists and that aid is urgently needed. You are aware that we can't seek aid among the capitalist thinking opponents of the Russian government. They maybe enemies of the Bolsheviks, but are also ~~enemies~~ in a still higher degree enemies of the Anarchists, and will never have any sympathy for them. Therefore, we have to seek aid among the more radical workers, who believe in the Russian government and who know nothing about what is really going on there. In order to gain the support of these elements it is first necessary to tell them about the conditions as they exist in Russia, and to make them believe in these facts.

This task, however, is a very hard one, it is not so easy, for one who has been told during the past three years that the Bolsheviks are fighting for freedom of the world, to make him believe that this very same government commits all the crimes which you and other Russian refugees have ascribed to them. It is not so easy to take from one away his "god" The Bolsheviks were the god of the radical workers and even of most Anarchists. They will resist any attempt to take this "God" away from them. They will try to find dishonesty in anything that will be told about Russia, and it is for us to present these facts in such a manner, through such channels that no impurity, nothing that can throw a shadow of prejudice and dishonesty shall be possible.

The appearance of your articles in a capitalist publication, a publication that was always a friend of counter-revolutionists will give the followers of the Bolsheviks the greatest weapon to discredit the contents. These articles will not only not accomplish their aim, but will have counter effect upon the worshippers of the Soviet government. It is true, they will reach thousands of workers "readers" but it is not the capitalist opponents of the Bolsheviks that we wish to reach. We wish to reach every radical worker, especially the followers of the Bolsheviks and They Do Not Believe in What is Printed in The N Y World. To them the N Y World is a traitor and any one who is being paid by the N Y W for articles is a traitor and can not be believed.

The appeal for Russia, which was signed by You, Sasha and Shapiro has had wonderful effect upon the workers, it acted upon the minds of the workers as a good antidote to the Bolshevik anesthesia.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1922] March 6, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, Stockholm] / Jo[s]e[ph]
Spivak. — 2 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

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The workers believe you because they know you and know the Ar. St. and the other Anarchist publications where they were printed. The workers began to open their eyes to the truth. They did not like the truth, but they had no way to discredit you. We have immediately organized the International Anarch Aid Federation and our work is very promising. We are however, sure that as soon as your first article will appear in the N.Y.W., it will bring anything told against the Russian government and we will carry up our work. Not only this it will injure the movement for you to come.

We are certain that there is nothing behind your work other than the interest of the Anarchist ~~movement~~ cause. You have never, never ~~mentioned~~ referred to the active groups as to how your story can best be circulated. You have left this to one who is not in the movement, is not connected with any one who is active, has not consulted any one who is active in the movement. And based upon that information obtained from this person we have made your decision.

We are certain, that if you would have ~~mentioned~~ direct to the groups, we would have shown you a better way of bringing the truth about Russia to the people.

We know that the cause of Anarchism, the cause of Anarchists in Russian prisons is dear to you, and in the same cause, we urge you to cancel the publication of the article in the N.Y. World.

Yours for freedom of mankind,

International Anarchist Aid Federation

Joe Spivak Sec'y

4072- 3rd Ave. N.Y. City

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 8, Stockholm [to] Carl [Newlander, Hjorkvarn, Sweden] / E[mma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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Stockholm. March 8th. 1922.

Carl, my dear. I have neglected you shamefully. It is not that I had no time, fact is I have not done a damned thing for over a week. I wrote the inclosed little biographer sketch of S which the comrades here plagued me for. That brought me out of gear, I have not been able to get back to my work on Russia. I don't think I sent you the last article I wrote, here it is. Please send it back as I have only few copies. I am so restless and unsettled, I can hardly "see straight" (Ben's favorite expression)

I think I wrote you that visa for me from Prag was sent here over two weeks ago, it did not arrive. I then wired our friend in P and to day received an answer that it has again been sent by telegraph yesterday. So now I am waiting to hear from the Czech office whether it had arrived, if I get the news I will add a line to this letter. Last Friday we had a letter from Mettlan saying the Austrian government had decided to give us visa, so far it has not acted upon its decision. I hope it will soon because the Czech visa is only for me and of course I will not leave S. behind here without visa.

More than a week ago we heard from our German friends that we are soon to be notified by the Embassy here to call for visa. In short we are rich in promises but poor in visa. Something is sure to come out of it all. If only it were not so damned expensive to live here, I would remain over summer, I am beginning to like the Swedes and Stockholm.

Then too, I hear that in the summer your countrymen wake up and show some spirit, gee I'd like to see it. Frankly, I would like to stay here, the Germans don't appeal to me at all, I have known them all my life and outside of Max B. I did not meet one who was worth while, except Robert Reitzel of course. Well, if S gets settled somewhere perhaps I will go to the Czechs there is one attractive thing about them as soon as they get drunk they make love to you. The Swedes I find do not even make love when they are drunk. Life is a queer thing Carl dear, four years or more I thought all personal feeling was gone, especially the two dreadful years in Russia froze my blood and now I am beginning to make a fool of myself again, which of course I have no right at my age, especially when the object of my foolishness is still in the infant stage..... Please don't laugh at your old silly comrade. But I am really starved for affection and some warm personal experience. Life is indeed strange.

I have just been called up and told that the Czech visa has actually arrived. But what good is it? S in one of his contrary moods, wrote our Prag comrade not to bother about him, so he got visa only for me. Now I have no desire to go away and leave S behind, so I simply will have to wait until he gets something.

The books you sent have arrived safely, they will be returned you in due time. Dear, did you see the biographic sketch they have been circulating ~~at~~ of me, in Swedish? I mean. Bjurklund made a speech one evening and told so many stories about me that I nearly died, not one word was correct. I wonder did he get it out of that sketch. I wish you would let me know because I am going to insist that they stop circulation of the Swedish thing.

Let me know how you are dear Carl and when you get any encouraging news from Canada write me. I will keep you posted about our movements. My stuff goes into the World, I will write Stella to send you the paper while my articles will be running.

Good by dear old faithful Carl.

cg

Received by Carl

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861028137

[Letter] 1922 March 9, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, Stockholm / Royal Board of Swedish Telegraphs. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3521

KUNGL.
TELEGRAFSTYRELSEN.
.....
ADMINISTRATIVA BYRÅN.
.....

Stockholm, March 7th 1922.

Dear Sir,

With reference to my letter of 8th March 1922 I beg to inform you that according to a communication received to-day from the Great Northern Telegraph Company you are entitled to despatch from Stockholm without payment of the charges also telegrams addressed to World, New York.

For the Royal Board of Swedish Telegraphs,



Miss Emma Goldman,
Helenbergsgatan 25 b IV,
Stockholm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 13, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

Dear letter of the 11th March arrived to day. I feel most sorry in hearing you are without the Czech visa. But I really do not know what to do. Saturday we were notified by the secretary of Brantung that we must get out. Our visa was to be renewed for two weeks, but Brantung was kept for a week and to day we discovered that we can be here only until this coming Wed. I dare say, Brantung will not go to the drastic measure of putting us out forcibly, but our comrades here are worried and we feel ourselves a burden to all of them. The situation is getting so unbearable that I have a good notion to let them deport me back to Russia. Of course, the Bolsheviks will not receive us, but their very refusal may do more propaganda and enlighten the masses than what we can do being knocked about in every country. I simply feel I can not keep on begging governments to let me in.

Tomorrow I am going to get my Czech visa, I am sure of that at least, I wish comrade Berkman had not refused to consent to having a Czech visa for him, we could have gotten one. Now it is not possible until I reach Czechoslovakia, if ever. The hitch is I must go through Germany and I may not get a German visa. We have been refused once and the rotten officials may not want to go back on their decision. That would also prevent my ~~going~~ getting to Austria, for there to, I can get only via Germany. And what if that damned country refuses? Pardon my swearing but I am really desperate. You see then dear comrade why I am so impatient. I know you can do no more than you have done. But I wired you hoping that if you will let Adler know we are being driven from here, he might put a little steam into the Amato michel. I hope to have an answer from you tomorrow to my wire. But even if nothing comes of it I am already rewarded for I enjoyed your letter immensely. I congratulate you dear comrade that you have retained your sense of humor, it is the only thing which ~~saves~~ saves one from ~~the~~ despair in this mad world.

So our Moscow friend has arrived? I was never able to get acquainted with him, he seems to have been very close to Bakunin, but he did not impress me as very deep or vital. Perhaps it is because I met him in R where everybody is so starved he is bent on one thing only, a piece of bread. I can not tell you what effect the whole situation had on me, it fairly paralyzed my whole being, sort of froze me all up. How long does he intend to remain in Vienna? I am not very enthusiastic over the idea that the Bolshevik government is to publish Bakunin, what will it do about his attitude to the State? Yes I will ask Bjorklund to let me have your Mss. I will be glad to read it and I will rush him on to publish it. I am so glad that yours will be the first on the Confession, I know you will have brought affectionate understanding in your estimation of the Confession. As I have already written you, it may have impressed me so dreadfully because I read the Confession in Russia where the whole atmosphere was ghastly and depressing, I want to read it again.

Dear comrade do you have the copies of my articles I sent? Spirdonova, The Forces that Crushed the Revolution, I need them. I do not need the Kropotkin article I made many copies of that, but only few of the others. If Harry has not taken them, please let me have them I will see that you get a set of the Worlds when my articles appear. I need the Mss for our Dutch comrades. Send them soon please, if you have them.

Even if I did not come to stay in Austria, I would come for a visit anyhow. Life is too ephemeral these days, one must snatch at the moment. I do want to see you dear comrade, so I mean to come any how if only we get the visa. Berlin does not in the least attract me. If I were to remain in Germany it would be South Germany anyway, but

Ros

Ros' plan
to do with
the Mss.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890126070

[Letter] 1922 March 13, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

nothing at all. I am not
a German. I am a Jew.
Our passports had to be sent
back to the Swedish government.
It is a regular money game.
Our comrades have written him
telling a stiff letter. I suppose
we might be given a weekend
just for one week. —
I am sure that our affairs
must be settled in that time.
I am sure.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890126071

[Envelope, 19]22 March 14, Stockholm [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].
— 2 p. ; 8 × 17 cm.

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— 2 p. ; 8 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.*

Albert Jensen.
Heleneborgsgatan 25th. B
Stockholm 38

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 17, Stockholm [to] Mark [Mratchny, Berlin?] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p.; 29 × 22 cm.

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Stockholm. March 17th. 1922.

Mein lieber Freund.

Ich schäme mich ordentlich, dass ich Sie solange habe ~~auf~~ Antwort warten lassen. Aber die Ungewissheit unserer Situation im Puncto visum ist mir auf die Nerven gegangen. Vielleicht ist es auch der Frühling der mir im Blute steckt, (Sie sehen, lieber Freund, Ihre alte Genossen kann leider die Jugendsehnsucht nicht loss werden) ich weiss nicht welche Ursachen es sind, aber ich bin so grässlich unruhig, ich kann nicht schreiben. Ausserdem, musste ich noch einen Artikel für die World fertig machen, über die Gewerkschaften in Russland. Mich zum Schreiben zwingen war nie mein Art, aber in meinem jetzigen Zustand war es eine solche Qual, dass ich einfach verzweifelte. Aber es musste fertig werden, somit arbeitete ich zwei Nächte durch, die Arbeit wurde fertig, aber das Resultat war zwei Tage rasende Kopfschmerzen. Sie begreifen also warum ich solange nicht geschrieben habe.

Im Puncto visum steht die Sache nicht viel anders wie vor einem Monat, mit dem Unterschied, dass wir ein Versprechen von der Osterreichischen Regierung haben visum zu bekommen. Aber was sind Versprechungen unter Diebe? Was mehr bestimmt ist als ein solches Versprechen ist das Czechische visum das schon auf meinem Pass steht. Leider sagt auch das nicht viel, da ich mich an das Deutsche Consulat um transit visum wenden muss. Ich bin nicht gerade sehr hoffnungsvoll auf ~~Erfolg~~, wurde es aber doch tun, wenn nur unsere Deutsche Freunde uns nicht an Händen und Füssen gebunden hätten. Seit drei Wochen heisst es "wartet, es kommt" Mittwoch war Alexander daran dieselbe geschäfts Angelegenheit zu unternehmen die er hinter sich hat. Im letzten Moment kam wieder ein Telegramm, "wartet noch einige Tage, es kommt bestimmt" Das Warten ~~ist nicht~~ auf einen Liebsten ist nicht schwer wenn man jung ist, aber in unseren Jahren ist es sehr gefährlich so lange zu warten, man bleibt dann ohne den Liebsten und das Leben wird öder als es schon so ist. Leider haben Bettler keine Wahl, somit heisst es wieder warten. Hier hat man uns zum Verstehen gegeben, dass wir gehen müssen, und zwar sehr bald. Unser visum ist bis zum 29ten verlängert, nachdem durften wir grosse Schwierigkeiten haben. Kurz und gut, es ist ein Zustand in dem man nicht denken, noch arbeiten kann.

Wenn es hier nur nicht so öde wäre, vielleicht ist es nur so weil wir der Sprache nicht mächtig sind, aber man kann nirgends hingehen, und es giebt auch nichts Interessantes, bischen Musik, eine ausgezeichnete Interpretation von Rachmaninov haben wir Sonntag gehört, das ist aber auch Alles. Sie können hier nicht einmal irgendwo hingehen, und sich einen Rausch antrinken, um das zu tun müssen Sie in ein Restaurant und essen, ein langweiliges Volk die Sweden. Nur zwei tief ergreifende Sachen habe ich hier gesehn, Strindbergs Grab und ~~zwei~~ seine zwei Arbeitszimmer, die sich hier im Swedischen Museum befinden. Bis auf den heutigen Tag ist Strindberg in seinem Lande ein Fremder geblieben, seine Sachen werden nur äusserts selten gespielt, und er selbst ist fast unbekannt. Ist die Menschheit nicht fruchtbar grausam ~~gegenüber~~ seinen Grossen gegenüber?

Und nun zu Ihrem Brief lieber Mark, ich kann nicht begreifen was mit dem Libertaire loss ist? Willkins ist nicht mehr an der Zeitung, er soll sogar aus Paris ausgewiesen worden sein. Wohl aber ist Sebastian Faure Mitarbeiter und er schreibt die ganze Zeit gegen das Russische Regime. Warum die Zeitung Ihren Artikel nur auszugsweise brachte, kann ich nicht begreifen, sie hat es übrigens auch mit Alexanders Artikel über P. A. getan. Ich habe die Absicht an Faure zu schreiben und ihm begreiflich zu machen wie wichtig es ist eine systematische ernste Kritik und einen Kampf gegen den Bolshevismus zu

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 17, Stockholm [to] Mark [Mratchny, Berlin?] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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führen. Ich will ihm auch begreiflich machen, wie notwendig eine Russische Zeitung für Russland ist. Ich bin sicher Faure wird seine Stütze nicht versagen. Es ist aber von grösster Wichtigkeit, dass die Arbeit die Sie lieber Mark und die andern Freunde vor haben sich eben nur mit ~~ausgesprochen~~ energischer Arbeit für Russland beschäftigt, was liegt schliesslich an der fixen ~~die~~ Idee Maximovs, einer Confederation, ich fürchte das wird nur wieder schrecklich viel Zwistigkeiten unter the Anarchisten bringen. Die Arbeit selbst ist doch die Hauptsache. Ich habe Maximov sehr gern, aber er kommt mir etwas provincial, etwas beschränkt vor. Gerade so eine Art des Denkens ist für unsere Sache sehr schädlich. Was der Anarchismus braucht ist Schwung, Breite und all Umfassende Tiefe. Meinen Sie nicht auch?

Wie ich schon einmal schrieb, ich will in jeder Weise irgend eine Arbeit für Russland stützen, aber ich kann mich einem Sekten Wesen nicht anschliessen, ich habe es in meinem ganzen Leben nicht tun können. Der Anarchismus hat für mich eine andere Bedeutung, als Vereinsmeierei und kleinliches Gruppengeist. Ich hoffe Sie verstehen mich nicht falsch.

Sie schreiben die Freunde haben die Absicht ein Kropotkin Album heraus zu geben. Ich wurde davon abraten. Erstlich wurde materiell sehr wenig heraus kommen, zweitens sollten solche Sachen K Kommittees überlassen werden und der Ertrag eben nur für organisation von Kropotkin Museum, oder Schulen verwendet werden. Ich meine es wäre viel praktischer wenn Sie eine gediegen Brochure über Russland herausgeben würden, das hätte bedeutenden Propagandasinn und wurde auch materiell Einiges einbringen. Ich habe keine Absicht meine Meinung Ihnen lieber Mark, oder den andern Genossen aufzuzwingen, ich will nur dass Sie wissen wie ich mich zu dem Unternehmen vom K. Album stelle. Auch das Programm das Sie heraus geben wollen, was soll damit erreicht werden? Die Hauptsache ist doch West Europa und America mit dem wirklichen Stand der Situation in Russland bekannt zu machen, anderer Seits etwas für Russland selbst zu tun. Wenn Mittel vorhanden werden könnte man sich doch manchen Luxus erlauben, aber Ihre Mittel sind ja sehr klein, daher sollte eben das Allernächste eine Brochure sein. Auch hier will ich nur meine Idee aussprechen und Ihnen Nichts aufzwingen. Sie müssen und werden natürlich das tun, was Sie als das Wichtigste betrachten.

Die Bolshevisitsche Verfolgungen hören natürlich nicht auf. Jetzt sind die S R an der Reihe. Welche gemeine Mittel die Bande angewendet, jetzt nach vier Jahren soll die S R Partei verantwortlich gehalten werden für die Taten von 1918 und 1919. Ein erbärmliches Gesindel die Herrscher von Russland. Ich bin verzweifelt, dass ich so gebunden bin. Wenn ich frei herumreisen könnte und überall reden könnte, ich würde den Leuten im Kreml schnell ihr Handwerk legen, dass heisst, es wäre nicht gar so schwer eine starke öffentliche Meinung zu schaffen in West Europa und America, die die Russische Regierung zwingen würde ihre Methoden zu ändern. Aber ich fühle mich furchtbar hilflos in der jetzigen Lage. Und ich fürchte, sie wird sich nicht ändern, denn wenn wir auch nach Österreich oder Czechoslovakien hin können, so wird man uns doch nicht die Möglichkeit geben ungehindert zu arbeiten, vielleicht mit der Feder, aber das ist für mich nicht zufriedenstellend. Diese und Vieles mehr haben einen sehr deprimierenden Einfluss auf ~~meine~~ meine Nerven. Sie wurden mich daher schwerlich als gute Gesellschaft betrachten. Vielleicht wird es anders, wenn wir von hier wegkommen. Ich hoffe es, denn ich mag meinen Freunden nicht meine schwere Stimmung zu fühlen geben.

Bitte grüssen Sie die andern Genossen recht herzlich. Und seien Sie mir innig gegrüsst. Ihre Freundin

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 24, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman].—
2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

Dear Comrade,

I received your registered letter and wire the same day. You can well imagine our relief, but the joy did not last long, the following day when I called on the Austrian Consulate I found that no instructions had arrived. I have called them up every day since, nothing has come. I can not understand what is the matter. I have wired you, no doubt you have asked your friend who has been the intermediary to find out the cause of the renewal delay.

Together with what seemed your good news came "good" news from Germany, in fact the news seemed more substantial, an official document from das Polizei Presidium from Berlin granting us the entry into that city and the right to stay there for four weeks. We thought all our troubles are ended. But we forgotten our misfortune which consists in our names. At the German Consulate I was told that the document is not enough, that they would have to send our enquettes to the foreign office in Berlin. Now to do that means to face an absolute refusal in as much as we were already once refused by the foreign office. I got out of the embarrassment by saying that I will wait until our Austrian visa arrived and then call for a transit visa. But even for that the Consulate will send to Berlin. It may even happen that Germany will refuse us a ~~transit~~ a transit visa, who knows? German bureaucracy continues as if there never had been a terrible war. However, I can not proceed until we have the Austrian visa. I hope the instruction may arrive by Monday, if not I will have to apply for a transit visa to go to Prag, that will be only for myself, Berkman will then have to engage in the same "business" Sh. has transacted very successfully, he has been drawing German dividends for over a month now.

I don't know whether I wrote you that Brantung has again given us a medicine dose, it will end this coming Wed. If only we had the Austrian visa he would without any arguments extend our visa until the German transit had arrived. Now I do not know how it will be. I really don't think it is so much Brantung as our own comrades who are beginning to feel it rather burdensome to have to go to him every fortnight. I can not blame them. It is certainly a hateful situation, most hateful to us. You say I must not go back to Russia, the trouble is I don't know where to go, R. is as much likely to have us as the other countries, especially when my articles appear in the World.

Speaking of the articles, trouble is already beginning, last week I had a cable from some young comrades asking me to withdraw the articles from the W. To day I got a letter from them threatening to excommunicate me if I do not withdraw the articles. It's great to be ~~public~~ public property, don't you think? A good thing that I am used to the threat of excommunication, our comrades have done that so often in the past. But while they have made my struggle more difficult they have also made it interesting, so I need not complain. Yes, I am in for a merry dance. Life is certainly a circus, here we are hunted animals with every door shut in our face by all governments, yet the very people who claim to be ones own are no less cruel in their judgment, willing to shut one out as much as ones enemies. Fortunately I still have a sense of humor, I could not survive otherwise.

I have read your article on the Confession, it is, as I expected, written with loving understanding, but it is not convincing dear comrade. I mean for those who have read the Confession. Not that Bakunin should be condemned for having written that great document, for it is a great document, but that those to whom Bakunin was a great inspiration, a shining star of strength and will, can not help see that he was not even as strong as many of the other revolutionists who had received and endured the same terrible fate. Take Veraigner.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 24, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

the Bolsheviks grew in Siberia. I suppose that married so many than
the Bolsheviks. I suppose I never before in such human conditions.
I have been moved by so many conflicting motives and feelings over
which the strongest of us have no control, how am I to condemn any one
knowing that I have not always acted as my brain dictated? I am glad
dear, good comrade that there are a few ~~whom~~ who are big enough to
approach human conduct with understanding, you are among the few, I
wish there were more.

Thanks for the Mes of The Forecasts.

I have as good as determined to come to Vienna even if Germany
should in the end grant admission. I could not live in Berlin anyhow,
too many comrades there who would swamp me. The question now is will we
get the Austrian visa. Let us hope ~~and~~ and "pray"

Devotedly. *E. G.*



I have sent you a big roll of papers will send more next week. Please
do not worry about the expense.

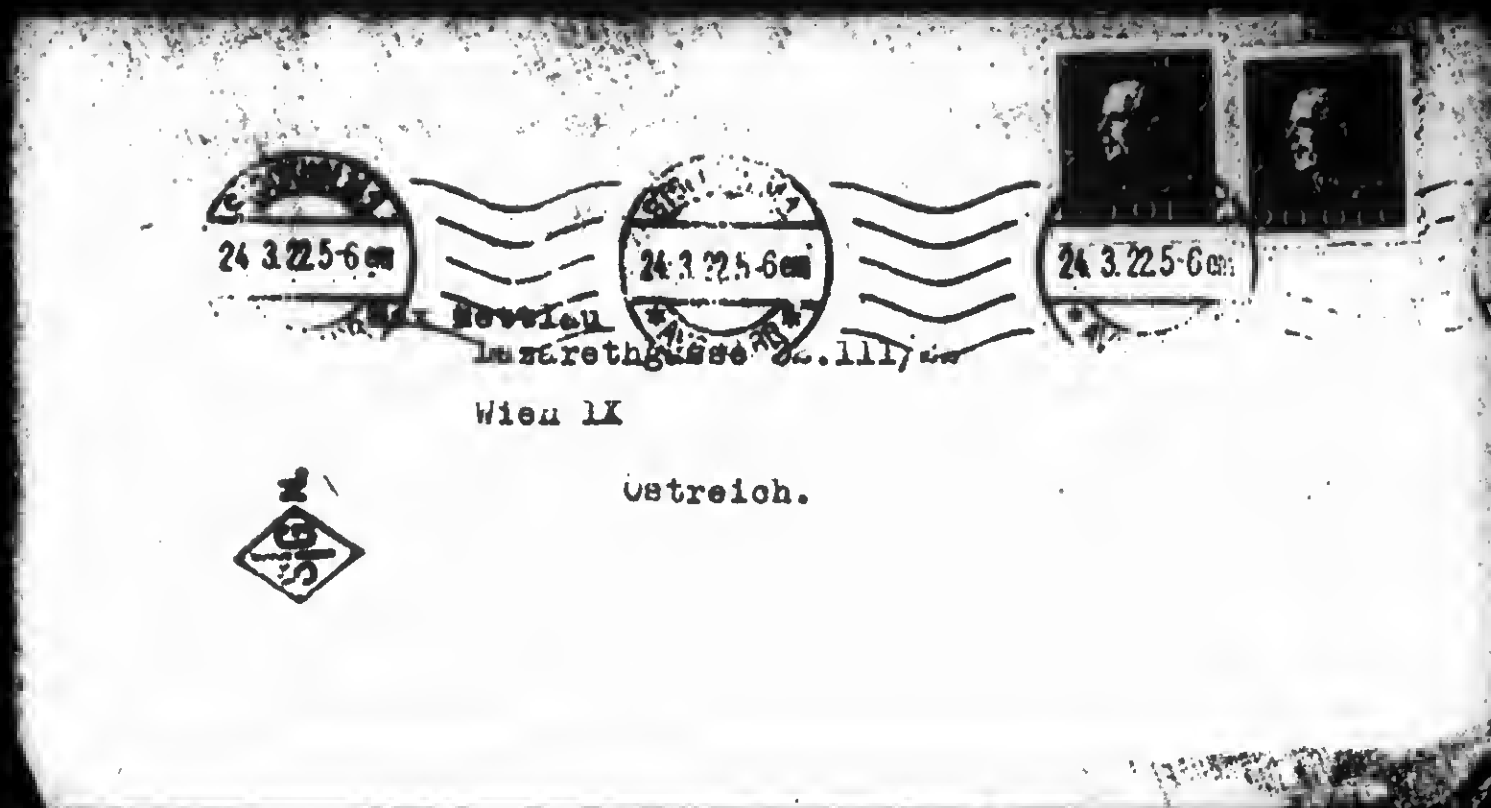
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503

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 19]22 March 24, Stockholm [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].
 — 2 p.; 9 × 17 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Envelope, 19]22 March 24, Stockholm [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].
— 2 p. ; 9 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.*

Albert Jensen
Helsingborgsgatan 25. B.
Stockholm Sö

1923 3/24 + 1/16

505

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 25, Stockholm [to] International Anarchist Aid Federation, New York / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13847

Stockholm. March 25th. 1922

International Anarchist Aid Federation.

New York City.

Dear Comrades.

Your cable of two weeks ago reached me safely. Your letter of the 6th. inst. arrived yesterday. Thank you for both. I appreciate your concern in our movement and in the work you have undertaken, to raise funds for our imprisoned comrades in Russia. I should indeed be sorry if my appearance in the World would interfere with your work, yet I can not possibly comply with your request to cancel my articles in the World. and that for the following reasons.

First, I did not know that there were "active Anarchist groups" in America. I did know that reaction was rampant in the states and that everything had been suppressed, except of course, the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. I did not ~~know~~ even know of the existence of Free Society, a very fine little paper I must say, but one which is published irregularly and probably has a small circulation, hence I could not consider it as a medium of reaching the American workers on a large scale. It is not more than a month or so that I saw the first copy of Free Society. In other words I knew there was no Anarchist paper in the English language of any consequence through which I might be heard on the Russian situation. I have already said I knew nothing of your existence. There remained the Freie Ar. St., the Liberal press or the World. The Freie Arb St is of importance in the Jewish movement, I do not deprecate its value, but while I consider the Jewish propaganda and the propaganda in all foreign languages important I do not think it important enough to concentrate only on them.

The Liberal press was tried, in fact I was willing to let my articles go into the Liberal papers free of charge, but they proved themselves so illiberal that they would not take my articles. The Liberals have always been more cowardly than the Conservatives, they are afraid of my name and of Anarchism. In other words, I had to either be silent on the Russian situation, or appear in the World. And as I consider silence on Russia the greatest betrayal against the workers in Russia and the rest of the World I have decided upon the W.

You say that I have never referred to the active groups for advise as to how ~~the~~ my articles can best be circulated. How could I refer to something I did not know existed? The fault for that dear comrades rest with you and not with me. For two years I have been cut off from the Anarchist movement. Did the "active groups" take any trouble to get into touch with me? Did they make any attempt to learn of my life and struggle of the two years in Russia? As far as these groups are concerned I might have been in the Tohoka, or died of typhus, or starved to death. Never a word of concern or comradeship did I get from these groups during the two years.

Now you may say and not without some justice that it was difficult to get into touch with Russia. Still, other people have, why not your "active groups"? The very person you so contemptuously refer to, my niece, was able to get in touch with me. But for her devotion and care I might have been compelled as so many others in Russia to prostitute my ideas and ideals in the service of the Bolshevik State. However I will grant that you could not reach me while I was in Russia. What about the time since I am out of Russia? It is nearly four months since we reached Europe, three months since our joint appeal appeared. Why did the "active groups" failed to get in touch with me? Why did they not show some solidarity, some interest in the possibility of my existence— the struggle I am making to find a place to live and breath? The answer for that you yourself have given in your letter. You say "It is not your personality which will probably suffer that concerns us" Precisely, the personality of E. G. maybe kicked about from pillar to post, the door of the whole world maybe slammed in her face and she be compelled to hide and seek for a refuge, the personality of E. G. may suffer want or be otherwise in distress and misunderstood. All that does not concern your groups. All that they are concerned in is how much E. G.'s name and ability can be used for the "cause" which these groups have chosen as theirs and which they consider ~~important~~ above all human values. Woe to us

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 25, Stockholm [to] International Anarchist Aid Federation, New York / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 3 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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if we dare to go our way because we are convinced of the logic or justice of our actions, the active groups will be the first to condemn and discredit us even if we have been at their back and call all our lives. There is nothing new in that. The thing which interests me is the fact that you dear comrades though you call yourself anarchists yet express the same fanatical precepts of the Bolsheviks, the individual and personality are of no consequence, indeed both may be crushed for the sake of the "cause" Only you call your "cause" Anarchism, they call it the State. But in the ultimate both are the same.

Frankly that is not my idea of Anarchism nor do I consider any "cause" superior to personality and the individual. I never have nor will I ever consent to serve as a means to an end, even if that end actually be Anarchism, for I know and Russia has only strengthened me in my knowledge that any "cause" which is willing to shew disregard for personality ends by enslaving not only the one but the many.

As a matter of fact this is not really the reason why I have failed to turn for advice to the active groups. I did not do so because I did not know of your existence. I may also say that my 32 years in the movement have not made me very enthusiastic about the efficiency of these groups to handle an important situation which should be brought to the notice of large groups of people. Still if you had appraised me in time of what you can and are willing to do I should no doubt have refused the offer of the World. But you made yourself known too late.

It is hardly necessary to reply to your charge that I have been influenced by my American friends, if you know me better you would have realized that E. G. is not so easily influenced. But while it is true that I have not consulted the active groups in America I have consulted some of our most unimpeachable comrades in the movement, among them Harry Kelly, Rudolf Rocker, Malatesta, Nettlau, the comrades of the London Freedom group, dependable comrades in Paris and in this City. Their unanimous advice was "accept the offer of the World because it is of the utmost importance that your voice on Russia should be heard by all America" Perhaps if these comrades had known that there are active groups who can spread my story broad cast they would not have been so emphatic in their urge though I rather think that would have made no difference. See the advice of Freedom for instance, why would it not have preferred to have the exclusive possibility to bring my articles? But our comrades of Freedom are too broad minded not to see the value of reaching the mass and not only its hand full of readers, hence they too urged that I appear in the W. So you see dear comrades I have consulted those whose opinions I value and who have remained true to their ideas all their lives. I again repeat if I did not consult you it is not because I would not have valued your opinion, but because I never heard of your groups until your cable came and when my attention was called to your ad in the Frei Arb. St.

Besides, you say yourself that you have only recently organized and for the purpose of raising funds for our imprisoned comrades in Russia. Now I think that is a very worthy purpose, but it is not the only purpose in the Anarchist movement. Above all money is not the only thing which can help our comrades in Russia. There is something else, something that might compel the Bolshevik government to let up in its cruelly despotic methods of persecution. A year ago anything said in the revolutionary press might have had ~~it~~ been that something I have in mind. To day the Bolsheviks give a damn for the opinions of the revolutionary workers, or the revolutionary press. They are however keenly sensitive to the criticism that appears in any of the important Metropolitan papers, because that effects large masses of workers for whose support they are now clamouring. If for no other reason this alone is enough to appear in the W.

As to what the Bolsheviks will say, I have considered that. But I have never cared what our enemies will say. I thought as Anarchists we must be concerned only in the truth and justice of our position and then defy the whole world for its sake. At least I have always acted in that way, why do you expect me to pay attention to what the Bolsheviks will say? Then too it matters not where my articles would appear the Bolsheviks will hurl their anathema against me anyway. They have already started directly my article appeared in Freedom and as soon as our joint appeal was published. So I can not consider them or their blind followers. People who are so obsessed as the Communists and Anarchists who are ~~marked~~ under the Communists hypnotism can not be convinced ~~and~~ not just yet anyhow. And the rest of the workers will judge my articles by their merit. I hope so anyway. And I hope

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

13849

with all my heart that you dear comrades too will judge my work on its merits. I can not believe that you are so bigoted and so sectarian that you will condemn me after you have read my preface and the articles. Whatever else you may think or feel I am convinced that you will not say I have compromised one single iota of my ideas, or that I have been prompted by other than the one deep burning desire to shed light on the terrible betrayal of the Russian Revolution and the Russian people by the Bolshevik government. But if you will judge me lightly I shall have to stand it, as I have on many other occasions born with the misunderstanding of friends and enemies alike. That will in no way interfere with my interest in your work and with my desire to help you all I can, if you will permit me to do so without denying what I consider most vital to my own integrity.

One of the stipulations with the W. is that my articles be released for the use of the Anarchist press. The comrades here will publish all of it in pamphlet form, so will the comrades in Britain and no doubt of most countries. If after you have read the articles you feel that you would like to publish the material in pamphlet form I should be very glad. If not it is my intention of having pamphlets published and circulated freely in America Canada and England.

Fraternally

signed E.G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870708048

[Letter] 1922 March 25, Stockholm [to] International Anarchist Aid Federation, New York [government transcript] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

A. A. HOPKINS:

Oct. 5, 1922...

(RE: EMMA GOLDMAN)

Stockholm, March 25th, 1922.

International Anarchist Aid Federation

New York City.

Dear Comrades.

Your cable of two weeks ago reached me safely. Your letter of the 6th inst. arrived yesterday. Thank you for both. I appreciate your concern in our movement and in the work you have undertaken, to raise funds for our imprisoned comrades in Russia. I should indeed be sorry if my appearance in the World would interfere with your work, yet I can not possibly comply with your request to cancel my articles in the World, - and that for the following reasons.

First, I did not know that there were "active Anarchist groups" in America. I did know that that reaction was rampant in the states and that everything had been suppressed, except of course, the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. I did not even know of the existence of Free Society, a very fine little paper I must say, but one which is published irregularly and probably has a small circulation, hence I could not consider it as a medium of reaching the American workers on a large scale. It is not more than a month or so that I saw the first copy of Free Society. In other words, I knew there was no Anarchist paper in the English language of any consequence through which I might be heard on the Russian situation. I have already said I knew nothing of your existence. There remained the Freie Ar. St., the Liberal Press or the World. The Freie Arb. St. is of importance in the Jewish movement. I do not depreciate its value but while I consider the Jewish propaganda and the propaganda in all foreign languages important, I do not think it important enough to concentrate only on them.

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Page - 1

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Besides, you say yourself that you have only recently organized and for the purpose of raising funds for our imprisoned comrades in Russia. Now I think that is a very worthy purpose, but it is not the only purpose of the anarchist movement. Above all, money is not the only thing which can help our comrades in Russia. There is something else, something that might compel the Bolshevik government to let up in its cruelly despotic methods of repression. A year ago anything said in the revolutionary press might have been that something I have in mind. Today the Bolsheviks give a

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A. A. HOPKINS:

October 5, 1922..

Page 3

RE:

EMMA GOLDMAN--

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One of the stipulations with the W. is that my articles be released for the use of the Anarchist press. The comrades here will publish all of it in pamphlet form, as will the comrades of Holland and no doubt of most countries. If after you have read the stories you feel that you would like to publish the material in pamphlets, I should be very glad. If not, it is my intention of having pamphlets published and circulated freely in America, Canada and England.

Respectfully,

(Signed) EMMA GOLDMAN

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 26, Stockholm [to] Mark [Mratchny, Berlin?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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Stockholm March 26th. 1922.

Mein lieber Mark.

Ich wusste wirklich nicht, dass meine Briefe ein-
so wichtige Bedeutung für Sie haben, sonst hätte ich Sie nicht
so lange warten lassen. Natürlich man ist nicht immer in der Stim-
mung zum Schreiben, und Sie wollen gewiss keine Pflicht Briefe.
Immerhin will ich mich in der Zukunft bessern, wenn nur der Weg zu
Gutan nicht immer mit Steine gepflastert wäre.

Ich weiss nicht wie weit Sie unterrichtet sind, was
unsere Deutschen Freunde für uns getan haben. Sie haben uns vom
Polizeipresidium die Erlaubniss verschafft nach Berlin zu kommen u
und vier Wochen dort zu bleiben. Für alle ändern wäre weiter nichts
mehr nötig, aber wenn man das Unglück hat berühmt zu sein, so muss
man natürlich dafür büten. Das Deutsche Consulat ist mit dem
Document nicht zufrieden, es besteht darauf vom Ministerium des Aussen-
aussern aus Berlin unser visum zu bekommen, somit war also die
Muhe unserer Genossen umsonst.

Nun kommt aber etwas Besseres, am 21sten erhielt ich ein
Telegram von Nettiau, dass unsere visum telegraphisch hierher ge-
schickt wurden. Denken Sie sich daher unser Entsetzen als wir gester
wieder ein Telegram erhielten indem uns Nettiau mitteilt, dass
unsere visum "plötzlich und definitive" refusierte worden sind. Was i
in den fünf Tagen vorgeraten ist, weiss ich nicht. Ich habe unsere
Bolshevistische Freunde im Verdacht, denn es ist sicher dass sie
soweit es in ihrer Macht steht alles thun werden um uns das Leben zu
erswaren. Was jetzt sein soll, weiss ich nicht, jedenfalls ist man
unter solchen Umständen nicht zum Schreiben aufgelegt, dass können
Sie sich ja vorstellen.

Morgen werde ich mich um Deutsches Transit Visum wenden
damit ich nach Czechoslovakia komme, von dort habe ich visum auf sechs
Wochen, aber ich bin nicht sicher, dass mir das gelingen wird. Es
scheint die gute Social Demokratische Deutsche Regierung will uns
nicht auf ihrem Heiligen Boden lassen. Ich muss gestehen, ich bin
so ziemlich verzweifelt.

Sie haben recht, Maximov ist grund erlich, aber das sagt
noch nicht sehr viel, gerade die beschränkte Ehrlichkeit lässt
seiten eine grosse Arbeit zu. Was ist das wieder für eine Idee ihre
Organisation Volny Golos Truda zu nennen? Das wird doch nur zu allern
nenn Missverständnisse führen mit Gollos Truda, wozu immer das thun
was nur Zwist und Reibereien als Folge hat. Hoffentlich wird Maximov
meinen Namen nicht dazu gebrauchen, denn das könnte ich wahrhaftig
nicht zugeben. Bitte sagen Sie ihm das. Sagen Sie ihm auch, dass es
doch gar nicht notwendig ist Gollos Truda als Aushängerschild zu
gebrauchen, Ihre Arbeit wird auch ohne dem Unterstützung bekommen.

Lieber Mark, ich bin sehr unruhig über Ihrem Zustand,
hoffentlich ist er nur vorübergehend. Lassen Sie sich um nichts
in der Welt zu viel in das Studium der Psychiatrie hinein, es ist nicht
gut für wunde Nerven und in Ihrem jetzigen Zustand.

Ich weiss nicht warum Ihnen die Fr Ar St nicht antwortet,
auch mein Schreiben, das ich zusammen mit Ihrem kleine Artikel an
die Fr Ar St schickte ist noch nicht beantwortet worden. Hoffentlich
hören Sie recht bald von dort.

Unser Wiedersehen ist wieder in die weite Ferne, wenn sie
überhaupt je stattfinden wird, man wird tot mude vom Warten und Hoffen.
Herzliche Grusse.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 29, Stockholm [to Rudolf Grossmann, Klosterneuburg, Austria] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Pierre Ramus Archive.



Stockholm. March 29th. 1922.

Dear Comrade.

You see now right I was not to rush about the hire of a cottage. How strange that anarchists who have had hundred of lessons that they must not depend too much upon the promise of politicians, ~~going~~ depending. not only that, but before the promise is kept they spread the "glad" tidings all over the world. You dear comrade are particularly prone to take everything for granted. Forgive me for saying so, but what sense was there in writing to every body that we were granted the right to enter Austria and live in Vienna, when we did not have the actual visé? I confess it made me sick to read in the Arbeiter Freund that you secured the visé and that we are going to live in Austria. And now the whole thing is off. Is there no way of finding out the cause of the sudden change of Schober? I wonder did the Bolsheviki have anything to do with the matter? These agent has done it once, in Riga, a Tchekist notified the Consul that we were dangerous people and were on our way to attend a secret Congress. Why may it not have been a Bolshevik agent again? But there is no sense in publishing such a rumor unless we have proofs that it is really so. Therefore I ask you to keep my supposition to yourself.

I have applied for a German transit as I have a Czechoslovakian visé, but Germany may refuse. I have no idea what is going to be then. The German comrades have accomplished nothing, they did get us a document from the Berlin Polizeipresidium that we may enter Berlin and stay there four weeks. Of course the Consul here would not recognize it. Whoever heard of the foreign office taking orders from the Polizeipresidium. Frankly, I am in despair. Comrade Mettalu wired that a last effort will be made last Monday, but I suppose nothing has come of that effort since I heard nothing further from Mettalu, poor man he is quite distressed from the disappointment. Dear comrade I must ask you to write the Arb Freund that the efforts in our behalf were really made by Mettalu, and if he failed it is certainly not his fault. I think he ought at least be given credit for what he has done.

What facilities have you for the publication of a large pamphlete? I ask because my articles on Russia which have begun in the New York World, and which I have demanded should be released for the anarchist press, would make a valuable pamphlete which ought to be published in different languages. It will appear in English of course. To day I have written to Faure and the Libertaire comrades to see what they will do about a French brochure. Let me know what you can do. Remember me kindly to your family and the comrades.

—aternally

E. G.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 29, Stockholm [to William C. Owen, London?] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 3 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

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C

Stockholm. March 29th. 1922.

Dear Comrade.

I had intended to answer your letter just as soon as it arrived, but I was then in the midst of my articles and as I wanted them to be thorough I did not let anything interfere with my writing. Well, they are finished and in the hands of the World. They began to appear the 26th. and will run until the fourth of April. As you may imagine, my appearance in the World will cause a stir, not the least of it among our own comrades. I have already received one letter protesting against my decision to permit the World to publish the articles. But I remained firm. If only our comrades would know their own limitation, if only they would realize how in efficient most of them are when it comes to reaching a large public. But many of our comrades never, never learn. I am inclosing copy of my letter which I wrote the boys in N Y. It will give you an idea what I may expect even from our own comrades, in condemnation and misunderstanding.

There is another thing our comrades never learn that is not to put so much trust in the word of politicians. Think of it, Ramsay and others have sent out the "glad tidings" to the four corners of the earth that we were granted visé by the Austrian authorities, they took the promise of the Austrian minister of foreign affairs for gospel truth. Surely experience should have ~~told~~ told them that such people can not be trusted. Anyhow the miserable man backed out after he had solemnly promised that he would send the instructions by wire to the Austrian Consulate in this City. So here we are again shipwrecked. I can not understand what happened between the 20th and 26th. On the 20th. Nettlau wired "success, instructions will be wired to Stockholm" On the 26th. he wired "sudden definite refusal. Monday last hopeless effort" Since I have not heard from him, it means the effort was indeed hopeless. What could it have been? I wonder whether our bolshevik "friends" have not again put their evil hands into the pie. I am not sure whether I wrote Keell that a bolshevik agent spoiled our chance of getting a German visé when we applied for it in Riga. We have that on very good authority. The friend who tried for us then is the nephew of the German Consul in Riga, he wrote him all about us and told him we would guarantee for us. The Consul then wrote his nephew that he was about to sign our visé when a bolshevik agent called to tell him that we were dangerous bolsheviks and were going to Berlin to attend a secret conference. He therefore did not give us the visé. I have no positive proof that the same thing happened in Vienna, but it would not surprise me.

The German comrades have been at work now for three months and all they accomplished was a document from the Police presidium giving us the right to live in Berlin four weeks. But who ever heard the foreign office taking orders from the Police Chief. Of course the Consulate here paid no attention to the paper and insisted that we must fill out questionnaires and send them to the foreign office, which was useless in view of the fact that we have already been denied once. I doubt whether I will even get a transit visé to be able to go to Czechoslovakia. Anyhow, I have applied for one and will know in a few days, but frankly I am desperate. I don't know what to do, if Germany refuses. I do not think the possibility of a long prison sentence can be quite so difficult to bear as this reeling of being cast out and not knowing what on earth to do to find a refuge.

I have asked my niece to send the World containing my articles to Keell, so you will no doubt receive the copies. Now Keell writes he has subscribed to those issues, I hope you and he will like them well enough to reprint what you consider most valuable.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Harry Kelly wrote me there might be a chance to sell my articles to the London Express. but I do not care for it. First I suppose the Express is a Nordcliffe paper, then there is no need with freedom appearing, I only hope, if you do reprint the articles, you will get out a larger edition and have the issue advertised and pushed. I hope too we can get them out in pamphlet form. Keell wrote me but did not yet give me estimates of the costs of a brochure. I would ask especially that you reprint the article on Spirdonova, her tragic fate should be given the widest publicity. Then you will want to reprint the article on Trade Unions. I see Keell asked Berkman to write on that subject. no doubt he will do so, but meanwhile Keell might use mine. but whatever you publish please tell Keell my introduction must go in first of all, as I want my position towards the Russian Revolution known, then the bolshevik agents can bark all they like.

I see Mann repudiates the statement of his "comrade" Pollitt, but why does he continue to work with such a man who can lie so outrageously. I was amused at Mann's statement that "we disagreed with Emma Goldman in our attitude towards the Soviet Government" Any one would assume that Mann made it his business to see E. G. Shapiro, Berkman or any one of the comrades to get other than government information. Mme Kropotkin wanted to see him, I told Mann I would take him out to Dmitrov where she lives, he seemed very eager to go. But he never made any sign of going and what is more the moment he found out how the bolsheviks felt towards us, he avoided us all he could. not that I cared, but it only shows the character of the man who comes to learn the facts of Russia and then dares not see any one except officials for his information.

I am glad that you feel your return to England has helped you. It naturally would, America especially has the tendency to make one provincial, not that I ever found you quite that, but that all of us grow narrow when we stick long in one country. I fear, dear comrade that the masses are not the only ones who are helpless in the grip of capitalism and government, we, the individuals are that even more than the masses. Those of us who have tasted the devouring appetite of democracy know what and how it means for the individual. We are more than ever burdened down by democratic superstitions and I see no sign of a let up. Perhaps I have grown too pessimistic through my Russian experience, but the outlook to me is very black. no doubt the masses will again rise, no doubt there will be terrific upheavals, but what will that give except the same heartbreaking picture that I left behind in Russia and which haunts me day and night? The individual, everything that makes for human value, every ideal that stands for the sanctity of human worth and human life, who cares for that? Least of all the masses themselves, that is why they are so easily placed under the yoke again. I wish I could see you dear comrade and have a real talk with you, for I find myself unable to say the things that harass my mind since my terrible two years in Russia. Perhaps I when I will be less distressed about the uncertainty of my own life. I might be able to write about the great storm in my soul, I can not do so now.

One thing however, I agree with you in that "we are the custodians of a tremendous truth" Certainly I was never more convinced of the truth of Anarchism in all my life. But I am not quite so convinced of either the ability or the efficiency of most Anarchists to uphold that truth in the great crucial moments. Our comrades are most heroic when it comes to die for that truth, but somehow they do not know how to live for it, or build the structure this truth has taught them. They had the supreme chance in Russia and they just cheerfully turned it over to the Marxian politicians who in return were

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OW

(3)

short shift of them when the anarchists had gotten the chestnuts out of the fire and burned their hands in the attempt. I dread to think that the same process will be repeated everywhere. The Bolsheviks are marvelous organizers and propagandists and they have hypnotized the whole world. Now unless we succeed in breaking their hold upon the minds of the masses and especially upon our own comrades, there will be the Russian repetition in every country and that would indeed be a terrible calamity. For this very reason, I think that a common front of the anarchists and the revolutionary Syndicalists ought to be created for systematic work against the Bolshevik poison. Alas, our comrades are split in a hundred different conflicting factions, split over nothing at all, or trivial things. It makes one sick. I had hoped to be able to get about, to visit a few of the principle cities and get the leading comrades together for the purpose of a united front on the Russian issue. But with the whole world a great prison, I feel quite paralyzed.

Thank you dear comrade for your faith in my ability to expose lies. I certainly will leave nothing undone to expose the Bolsheviks. That is why I have consented to appearing in the World. I also want to write my book on Russia if I can get a place where I may find peace for several months at least. To find peace that is the crux, where is that going to be with the world firmly slammed in my face? If our comrades here were not so timid I think they could have induced Branting to let us alone for the summer, but there is no spirit among the Swedish comrades though they are a very nice people, too nice I think.

Your photo is fine, thanks very much for sending it. We met the first time in 1890, I remember it was at some little hotel on Fourth St. Edelman was there and Lumm. Then we met again in 1897, my first Italian trip, it was during the Spanish American war. How long ago it all seems. Thanks also for the pamphlet, I had received one prior to your letter. Keell sent me some pamphlets and yours was among them. It is very good.

I hope you will write often, let me know how you like the articles, you may have received some of the Worlds by the time this reaches you. Remember me to Keell, tell him I got his letter ~~concerning~~ am waiting for the estimate of the cost of a pamphlet. Tell him it is no use hoping for the time when we will be able to publish our things in Austria or Germany, or the good Lord knows where, we will be outcast everywhere, will probably have to keep in hiding, will therefore have to let our things be printed through freedom or some other such medium.

Good night and do write often.

Faithfully

EG

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1922 April?] Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Stockholm?] / A[rthur] S[vensson]. — 2 p. ; 21 × 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

14569
good! The newspaper cutting I sent you was from the New York Times. If I should go to Malmo, which I intend, please write me to my same address here as I will travel this way and can get letters forwarded to B. If any should come after I have left. I have to finish now to could mail this at the station which closes at 12 o'clock. Give everybody my regards and know that I love you Emma Darling, more than ever!

Your own Arthur

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1922 April?] Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Stockholm?] / A[rthur]
S[vensson]. — 2 p. ; 21 × 14 cm.

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14568

This is the hotel
where I am staying
but don't write there
but to

Levestuen, Vesterbrogade
Copenhagen N.

H. S.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

519

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1922 April? Berlin? to L'Adunata Dei Refrattari, New York] / Emma Goldman, Ale[xander] Berkman, Mar[k] Mratchn[y], Y. Yartschun, I. Maxi[m]joff, R[udolf] Roc[k]jer — 1 p. ; 49 x 15 cm.

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Appello dei rivoluzionari russi

Cari compagni,

Espulsi dalla Russia dal governo bolscevico, arenati sul suolo inospitale della Germania socialdemocratica, crediamo dover nostro raccontarvi in poche parole gli avvenimenti ultimi di Russia e di domandarvi di venirci in aiuto, perchè la nostra lotta è la vostra, il nostro scopo è il vostro, la nostra vittoria sarà la vostra.

La Rivoluzione è morta! Viva la Rivoluzione!! La grande rivoluzione è stata soffocata, il suo spirito ucciso, le masse lavoratrici affamate e stremate di forze, sono così disorientate da non trovar più via di uscita.

Il Comitato centrale del partito comunista russo è giunto, grazie all'armata rossa disciplinata, grazie ad una gendarmeria feroce e parecchie sezioni di spie, a ridurre in ischiavitù il proletariato e i contadini russi, in nome della dittatura del proletariato.

I multipli tentativi fatti dai lavoratori per sbarazzarsi del regime Abdul-Hamid-Marx, sono falliti, vinti dalla forza armata e dalle persecuzioni della Tcheka. Il potere comunista non s'arresta neppure dinanzi all'assassinio in massa, quando ha da fare con dei proletari, contadini o marinai rivoluzionari. Parecchi villaggi della Russia Centrale, del Volga, dell'Ukraina sono stati saccheggiati, distrutti dall'artiglieria di Trozki. Numerosi sono gli operai ed i marinai che furono fucilati dopo la sommossa, calunniata come controrivoluzionaria, di Kronstadt. Le galere, le carceri, i campi di concentramento dell'immensa Russia sovietista (sic) sono pieni di liberali, di socialisti di sinistra, di operai senza partito, ma veramente rivoluzionari. Molti di essi vengono deportati ai confini freddi e affamati del Nord della Russia. Ma tutti gli sforzi del partito bolscevico dominante sono vani. Malgrado le sue atrocità, la nostra propaganda non rallenta e le idee anarchiche-sindacaliste si sono radicate nel paese rivoluzionario. Gruppi anarchici ed anarchici sindacalisti si creano di nuovo nell'Ural, nell'Ukraina e nella Russia centrale. L'interesse per le idee anarchiche e per la nostra concezione federale ed antiautoritaria negli ambienti operai aumenta sempre più. La gioventù legge attentamente gli scritti di Malatesta, Bakounine, Kropotkine, ecc., ecc., che gli agenti della Tcheka non sono ancora riusciti a distruggere del tutto.

Attualmente questioni nuove si affacciano in Russia. Con la nuova politica economica, migliaia di operai sono venduti ai capitalisti nazionali e stranieri dal Governo che si dice "degli Operai e Contadini". I Radek, i Krassine, i Rakowsky s'inclinano dinanzi a Poincaré — la guerra, ai Lloyd George, facendo nel tempo stesso appello all'unità del fronte proletario con i Noske, i Thomas, i Jounaux ed altri uccelli di malagurio della stessa specie.

La Russia rivoluzionaria attende avidamente nuovi appelli, essa aspetta la voce libertaria per riorganizzarsi e prepararsi a nuove battaglie.

Voi sapete che la chimera dell'Internazionale Comunista incanta ancora numerose masse operaie nel mondo intero, grazie alla demagogia incosciente ed ai sussidi di Mosca. Bisogna rilevare quali nemici, doppiamente pericolosi, perchè si nascondono dietro il nome di comunisti, sono i maestri cantori dell'Internazionale bolscevica. Bisogna che le masse russe disilluse e abbattute vengano rianimate dalla voce libertaria.

Noi, un gruppo di anarchici-sindacalisti, cacciati dalla Russia per volontà del Comitato Centrale comunista russo, ci siamo assunti l'impegno dinanzi alla Rivoluzione sociale, dinanzi alla Russia degli operai e contadini, dinanzi ai nostri compagni abbandonati alle peggiori torture nelle prigioni bolsceviche, di restar sulla breccia, di non cessar di combattere, di proseguire la nostra lotta per la liberazione economica per l'emancipazione morale, per la Comune libertaria.

Il nostro dovere è di chiamare i lavoratori russi sull'organizzazione delle loro forze per la lotta suprema e definitiva, di chiamare nelle nostre file i maestri ed educatori della gioventù proletaria e contadina. Dobbiamo impiegare tutte le nostre forze per combattere il regime dello knout bolscevico che vuol succedere all'imputridito regime capitalistico.

Il vostro dovere, o compagni, è di aiutarci perchè possiamo creare una libreria libertaria russa, per lottare contro la reazione rossa e preparare la via alla Rivoluzione antistatale ed antiautoritaria.

Aiutandoci moralmente e materialmente nel nostro compito difficile e pieno di responsabilità, mostrerete anche meglio il vostro disprezzo e disgusto per la dittatura intollerabile del governo bolscevico e tutta la vostra simpatia per i veri rivoluzionari, discepoli di Bakounine e di Kropotkine.

Noi siamo persuasi, compagni, che non resterete sordi e risponderete numerosi al nostro appello. I nostri scopi sono i vostri.

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRATTARI ALLA I. APRILE 1922

APPello DEI RIVOLUZIONARI RUSSI

la nostra lotta è la vostra e, come dicevano un tempo gli insorti polacchi, noi lottiamo per la nostra e per la vostra libertà.

L'Ufficio Straniero per la creazione della Confed. Anarchica-Sindacalista Russa:

Marc Mratchni - Y. Yartschun - I. Moxinoff - R. Rocher.

Alessandro Bergmann

Emma Goldmann

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 7, Stockholm [to Rudolf Grossmann, Klosterneuburg, Austria] / Emma [Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Pierre Ramus Archive.



Stockholm. April 7th. 1922.

Dear Comrade.

I received your letter of the 4th. yesterday. Almost the same moment I was informed by phone that the Austrian visé had arrived. You can imagine my surprise. We learned the news through the Swedish foreign office. Why the Austrian Consulate should have notified the Swedish foreign office, and not us, though it had our telephone, I could not quite make out until this morning.

I went down to the Austrian Consulate and there learned that it was through the efforts of Adler that Shober reconsidered his decision. He was "good" enough to send our visé but it has a string to it, as we say in America. I was asked to sign a "~~pledge~~" "pledge that we would abstain from all political activity". Of course I refused to sign any such pledge. First I have never in my life signed a pledge to any government, secondly, I do not know what is meant "to abstain from all political activity" It might mean that I may not even say anything about Russia. I simply would be thus gagged. Besides, if I wanted to give such a pledge I could return to America in no time, which certainly would be much more worth while than coming to Austria. But as I do not believe in pledging anything to a government, least of all to a S. D. one, I had to decline. But it is certainly a commentary to the Social Democratic influences in the world to day, when such an insult can be offered to people or ideas.

After all, Adler did do what he promised, but that he should expect us to sign pledges proves him to be as common place as the rest of the politicians. Perhaps it is the honour of his act, but somehow I had expected more of Adler.

As you know I have a Czechoslovakian visé. Unfortunately, I must go through Germany to get to Prag. I have applied for a German transit, have even paid for a telegraphic reply, but though my request was sent to Germany eleven days ago, there is no answer yet. And what is more, it may be a negative answer when it arrives. Well revolutionists have found a solution for such difficulties before, I suppose I will find one too. As to our other friends, you will understand that they are much better off than I am, they are men and this is a man's world, as an American friend called one of her plays. Men can so easily help themselves, that's where you dear comrade have the advantage over us poor women. But it would take more than any government could do to dismay me. I will not be lost+.....

I am glad for the text of the pledge I was asked to sign. A little later I will send you the wording as nearly as I can, unfortunately I did not copy it. I shall want you to make it public so the workers should know how cowardly Social Democrats can be. Of course, Shober is not a S. D., but Adler, how could he consent to such a thing. Well, its rotten.

I am sorry that I will have to forgo the pleasure of meeting you again, but it seems Czechoslovakia has so far proven the only country that has given me hospitality without "pledges" and without trying to gag me, so me for Czechoslovakia. Our visé here is good only until the 19th. we were told it is the last and I am anxious to get away. But you can keep writing here for the present.

Fraternally.

Emma

(Goldman)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 7, Stockholm [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / Emma [Goldman].—
1 p.; 26 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

Stockholm. April 7th. 1922.

My dear Comrade.

It will probably come as a surprise to you that the Austrian visé has come after all. Yesterday Jensen was called up from the Swedish foreign office and was told that the Austrian visé had arrived. I was thunderstruck. I could not understand why the Swedish foreign office and not we should have been notified. But I understood better this morning, when I called at the Austrian foreign office. The visé for the three of us had indeed arrived, but there is a hitch to it, we are asked to sign a pledge that we will abstain from every kind of "political activity". Of course, I refused to sign the pledge. First, I have never in my life signed a pledge to any government, secondly I have no idea what is meant by "abstaining from every kind of political activity". Does that mean that I would not even be able to write anything about Russia? I understand Adler, has been instrumental in getting the visé for us. But if so, how can he offer such an insult to an old revolutionist by a demand for a pledge? I'd much rather the visé had not been granted than that we should have a chance to get visé under a ridiculous pledge. I am afraid I ~~cannot~~ can not consent to being so completely gagged as Mr Adler, Shober and Co. want me to be.

There is another reason why I had to refuse signing the paper, though I should not have done it had this reason not existed, it is this, the two Alexanders have gone on a little visit, and as they would have to sign in person, it would arouse considerable suspicion if I were to sign and they not. So for this and ~~other reasons~~ for reasons of principle I have to forgo my chance of coming to Austria. I am deeply sorry because I had hoped of seeing you again, dear comrade. I am glad of one thing however, that the Social-Democratic government, has shown its real colors. Just think of it, even the American government would not expect me to pledge anything. I could return to America within ten days if I were willing to promise that I would abstain from political activity. Yet a S. D. government has the impudence to ask for such a thing, how rotten and cowardly these people are.

Forgive me, dear comrade that I can not go into to other points in your letter, I ~~was~~ ^{feel} too disgusted with life just now. The very idea that I who have fought the rottenness of government all my life must now depend upon any one of them really makes me ill. Much rather would I accept a prison sentence, at least I would feel spiritually free.

Yesterday, we received what the Swedish foreign office called "the last visé, it is good until the 19th of this month. I am quite determined it should be the last. Curious that Czechoslovakia should be the only country that asked no "pledges" and gave the visé without reservation. I am still waiting for German transit which I fear I will not get. Well, some other way will have to be found.

I am sending you a few bundles of papers, will send the Worlds unless you receive it direct. I asked my niece to have them sent to you.

fraternally

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 8, Stockholm [to] Mark [Mratchny, Berlin?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Stockholm. April 8th. 1922.

Lieber Mark.

Ihr Schreiben vom 2ten dieses Monats erhalten. Besten Dank für Ihre Aufklärung betreffs Golos Truda. Sie wirft natürlich ein anderes Licht auf die ganze Sache, immerhin dürften viele Misverständnisse von dem Ganzen erstehen. Aber wie gesagt ich hasse es aus ganzer Seele mich in die kleinlichen Reibereien der Genossen zu mischen. Es ist traurig, dass die Russischen Anarchisten Ihre Zwistigkeiten auch nach dem Ausland mitgebracht haben, aber was ist da zu tun. Es scheint in der Natur des Anarchisten zu sein. Es wäre wirklich jammerschade, wenn Sie, lieber Mark und die andern Genossen durch ~~Klein~~ kleinliche Persönlichkeiten verhindert werden, die Arbeit zu tun die so notwendig ist für Russland, aber von dem was ich von verschiedene Seiten aus Berlin höre habe ich wenig Hoffnung auf Erfolg Ihrer Arbeit, vielleicht scheint es mir nur so vom Weiten.

Wie komisch, Lieber Freund, mir zu danken für die paar kameradschaftliche Worte die ich an die Fr. Ar. St. schrieb. Das ist doch so selbstverständlich, dass es keiner Dankbarkeit bedarf. Ich wünsche nur es hätte was genutzt, ich meine damit, ich wünsche unsere Americanische Genossen würden die Bedeutung der Arbeit für Russland sehen und zur Hilfe kommen. Das erinnert mich daran, dass Genosse Jensen vom Arbeiteren Ihren Aufruf bringen will mich aber aufmerksam machte, dass derselbe keine Adresse angibt. Ich war selbst überrascht, und bemerkte es nur nachdem mich Jensen aufmerksam machte. Wohin sollen die Genossen dem Aufruf Folge leisten? Auch wenn sie wolten, könnten sie keine materielle Hilfe senden, indem sie nicht wissen wohin. Sie müssen also sofort Jensen eine Adresse senden und dasselbe an alle unsere Zeitungen, damit Genossen direct an Ihre Gruppe Beiträge schicken können. Tun Sie es gleich, lieber Mark.

Ich verstehe nur zu gut wie Sie empfinden von Genossen abhängig zu sein. Das ist etwas was ich mein ganzes Leben hasste und warum ich mich nie entschliessen konnte zu Gruppen zu gehören, oder Unterstützung anzunehmen. Das war auch einer der vielen Gründe warum ich mich entschloss meine Artikel in der World erscheinen zu lassen. Tausend Mal lieber von einer bourgeois Zeitung bezahlt als von Genossen zu werden. Ich muss aber für die jetzige Redaction der Fr. Ar. St. sagen, sie ist aus sehr feinführende Menschen zusammen gesetzt, Joseph Cohn hauptsächlich ist einer der ~~feinführenden~~ sensitivsten Menschen in der Jüdischen Bewegung. Es ist nur dass die freie Ar. St. grossen Geldmangel leidet, die Ursache ist wohl die grosse Arbeitslosigkeit. Sonst wäre es ihr nicht schwer für Beiträge kleinere Summen zu bezahlen. Cohn schrieb mir, dass die Fr. Ar. St. materiell sehr gedrückt ist. ~~Sie~~ ist die Ursache warum er Ihnen schrieb, und sicherlich nicht weil er nicht anerkennt, dass geistige Beiträge zu schätzen sind.

Dasselbe ist auch mit Brand der Fall, die anarchistische Presse ist wie immer sehr arm, immerhin werden und müssen die Genossen von der Ar. St. sowohl wie Brand verstehen, dass Sie und die andern Russischen Genossen in einer Ausnamslage sind und unterstützt werden müssen, bis Ihre Arbeit für Russland ordentlich organisiert ist.

Von meinem Kommen nach Deutschland wird es natürlich nichts, ich wäre froh, wenn ich nur ein Transit visum auf ein paar Stunden aus Deutschland bekäme, damit ich endlich nach Prag kann. Es ist interessant, dass Czechoslovakia das einzige Land ist, das mir visum gab ohne Bedingungen zu stellen. Denken Sie sich nur, gestern wurde mir aus dem Osterreichischen Consulat mitgeteilt, dass unsere visum nun doch eingetroffen sind, aber unter einer "kleinen Bedingung" wir

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 8, Stockholm [to] Mark [Mratchny, Berlin?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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müssen eine schriftliche Garantie geben, "dass wir von jeglicher politischer Tätigkeit abstanden nehmen. Natürlich refusierte ich ~~eine~~ so einen Wisch zu unterschreiben. Ich habe in meinem ganzen Leben keiner Regierung Verschprechungen gemacht und gedenke es auch jetzt nicht zu tun. Ausserdem ziehe ich es wirklich vor nach Czechoslovakia zu gehen, denn wie gesagt dort hat man mich in keiner Weise verpflichtet aber wie dahin kommen, das ist die Frage. Nun Revolzionäre haben früher Wege und Mittel gefunden und werden es auch jetzt tun müssen. Aber wie gesagt, ich fürchte wir sehen uns nicht so bald wieder. Vielleicht besuchen Sie mich in Prag. Ich meine für Russische Tätigkeit dürfte es dort überhaupt besser sein. Wenn ich erst dort bin will ich Um schau halten.

Ich muss jetzt schliessen lieber Mark, glaube auch nicht, dass ich Ihnen eine zeitlang werde schreiben können, aber Sie müssen nie vergessen, dass Sie mir ein sehr lieber Freund geworden sind und dass ich sobald ich erst Boden unter meinen Füssen haben werde, mich sooffort mit Ihnen in Verbindung setzen werde.

Sie herzlich grussend.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 9, Stockholm [to] Ellen [A. Kennan, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

EL EG TO ELLEN KENNAN, April 9, 1922, STOCKHOLM
18755
Stockholm. April 9th. 1922.

My dearest Ellen.

Now that Stellan has gone, I have practically no one in N. Y. who would keep in touch with me. Of course, I have dear Fitzie, but she is very busy and not much of a prolific correspondent. I have my brother and many friends and comrades. But I mean some one like you, a dear and devoted friend. You see, Ellen girl, I have never doubted your love and friendship even though I never heard from you while in Russia, except for one little letter which came through Mrs. Hellgreen. It was funny too, that it should have come through her. She was such a rabid Bolshevik. She looked me up when she and her husband first arrived. But as soon as she got to the foreign office she kept aloof, as if I were a dangerous person to associate with. I do not blame her. She must have been cautioned against us, though at the time we were ourselves in "good standing in the orthodox church." Your letter was brought to me by Agnes Smedley, who is a dear girl and a real person. Mrs. Hellgreen did not even have the courage to take the letter to me. But this is all shoved behind me, it is not worth talking about.

Of course, I know that you would have written often had you known how to reach me. I know your loyalty and devotion. I longed for both while in Russia so much. I would have given anything to see and be with you. One misses one's friends, when one is surrounded by automata who move according to a program and a machine, people who consider friendship and emotions as so much "bourgeois sentimentality." I missed my friends, I can tell you, for no one is ever going to make me believe that one is the less a revolutionist because one does not consider revolution in terms of brutality and cold indifference to all human sorrow. But enough of that phase.

I have been out of Russia now five months, but my Russian experience will never leave me. The tragedy is too overwhelming to ever get away from me. I wish I could write about it just now it impressed me but I am not master enough of the pen, and what is more I would believe my story possible. It is always true that reality is much more vivid than fiction, yet people rarely believe reality and fact. However, it is not the events that took place during my two years in Russia which are so difficult to describe, it is much more the effect they have had upon my spirit and the scars they have left upon my soul which I will never, never be able to make known. Perhaps if you were near me and we could talk as we often have in the past, you would understand, yes you of all my women friends would understand. But to write about it all is bitter hard. Yet I want to write, I want to try to bring home some of the tragic things, if only I were not at sea so much about a place to live.

You have probably heard, dear Ellen, that we are having quite a time in getting into some country where we would be allowed to breathe. We were admitted here only on condition that we do not remain long in Sweden, since then we have tried everywhere, or rather our friends have, but in vain. With the exception of Czechoslovakia, we were either refused, or like Austria, were asked to sign a "pledge" that we would abstain from all political activities. We refused to sign, of course. So now Austria is out of the question. Germany refused us months ago. Then our friends worked hard hoping to have the refusal changed. They got permission from the Berlin Chief of Police for us to come to Berlin for four weeks. But the German foreign office here would not credit that permission. I then applied for transit visé to Czechoslovakia, that was two weeks ago and no answer so far. I am in despair. Fortunately I have been assured that once I get to Prague there will be no further trouble, so I must get to Prague no matter how; revolutionists have

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 9, Stockholm [to] Ellen [A. Kennan, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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EK---

found ways before, and I am still a revolutionist though the good Catholic Communists will deny that. By the way dear, see Fitzie, tell her what I wrote here about visa and my S. has gone on a visit. Let her write him to hinder Gossens' visit, Berlin O, 17. Let her use an inside envelope and merely put on the inside for Fisher. I must know shift for my bill, but it was no use for S. to postpone his visit. I wonder dear, how my articles in the World effected you? I can well imagine that I have been put in sackcloth and ashes by many of my former friends. But I somehow feel you will understand and not condemn me. You will know that nothing but my desire to shed light on the terrible calamity of Russia has induced me to appear in the World. Needless to say I should have preferred another paper. I see the Call now hides behind the statement that my MSS. were not submitted to it, but I am convinced the Call would never have brought my articles. I was amused to learn that the Call in the past stood up for me. I wonder when that was. Well, it's all in one's life, to be misunderstood and repudiated by one's friends. It can not be helped. I do wish sometimes I were as shallow as a house-plant; everything would be so simple.

I am glad to hear that dear Gertrude is well and happy with her baby. Give her my fondest love and kiss the baby for me. Do you correspond with the LeRooses? Someday you will send them the World and my love. Do you remember the LeRooses? I had several letters from them, they are in Holland. They are lovely people. They spoke of you in their letter with much affection.

Dearest Ellen, please write me often and tell me what is going on in N. Y. I see the Call pretty regularly, but one gets no idea of the things one is most interested in. Do write me. Do you ever see Roger Baldwin? I want to be remembered to him and to Leonard Abbott, if you should see him. Write me to the S. Singer address, in my case put E. on the envelope. I can imagine the man-hunt that will begin when we will not be heard, though I shall be in Prague regularly, if I only get there.*

Then love to you my dear, dear Ellen. I am glad you liked my little gift.

P.S.

Dear, please go to the Rand Book Store and tell them this, ^{that} the book they sent me, my own Essays, has 10 pages missing, from 144 to 161. Then the book has 257 to 272 inclusive twice. If all the other copies are so miserably bound, the readers will not be very satisfied. Thank them for sending me the copy, but I would like one that is complete; have them send it to me more so I can also send the bill. How much do they charge for the book?

OM!

[Leave room for footnote]

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 9, Stockholm [to] Carl [Newlander, Hjorkvarn, Sweden] / E[mma Goldman]. — 1 p.; 27 x 22 cm.

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Stockholm April 9th. 1922.

6040

Dear, dear Carl.

I have been waiting from day to day for something definite to tell you, but nothing came. Or rather, a number of things did happen but they in no way changed our position. First, after Austria refused us visa, it seems to have changed its mind because the other day we were notified that visa were waiting for us at the Austrian Consulate. Well, they had a hitch. When I arrived I was given a paper to sign, what do you suppose it was? "I pledge" that I would refrain from all political activity" of course I refused to sign such a pledge and of course, we will not get the visa. Perhaps it is just as well because S. unable to stand idleness so long has gone into partnership with the firm and has joined so he could not use the Austrian visa anyhow. As to myself, I still have my Czech visa. I have applied for German transit two weeks ago, but the damned intermen are slow. And what is more I fear it will not come at all. Oh you know the old saying, wherever there is a will there is a way. Something will have to take place this week and I am fully determined it should. Our Swedish visa has been renewed until the 15th. It is supposed to do the last renewal and I really want it to be the last. More reason why one must begin to get busy..... I had hoped to be able to see you again before the final exports, but I fear it is not to be. Perhaps when the world becomes a little less insane and we can start some publishing work, as we will have to do if our books should ever see the light of day, perhaps then we can meet again. I don't know where that will be. For the present everything looks pretty hopeless to me.

We might have been rescued, the mere advertising of my articles in the World, and its advertisement in every N. Y. paper, even the Call, as well as many papers outside of N. Y. has caused an awful stir. The Call first got out an editorial stating that it probably would have accepted my articles had they been submitted to its editor. I hope you believe it. You can imagine what the actual articles will do. I expected 500 copies tomorrow, if I get more than one I will send you the World. You will be much amused about one thing, you know our dear S. who was so much opposed to the World has called S. itze has consent for his articles to go into Colliers, now you know what a rotten sheet Colliers is. I got a copy the other day, it was full of dime novels and the cheapest kind of love stories. The contradiction of the human mind is certainly strange. I fear, though S. has ~~been~~ consent, Colliers will not accept his article, the man who is handling S. Material wrote him a letter giving him "instructions" now to write in S. wants his articles accepted. It is a farce.

You will be glad to learn that the N. Y. St. announces it will reprint my articles from the World and will also get out Jewish and English pamphlets of the Material. I was touched deeply with the latter I received from Joseph Conn. No understating.

Dear Carl, your books and pamphlets are safe and will be returned to you in good time. I would like to hear from you by return mail. In any case my address continues the same for the present. Later I will write again.

Affectionately,

E.

Completed
April 11. 22

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The Emma Goldman Papers

890317175

[Letter] 192[2] April 19, Stockholm [to Rudolf Grossmann, Klosterneuburg, Austria] / E[mma] Goldman. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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RÖDA FANOR

Redaktör: ALBERT JENSEN
EXPEDITION:
Öländgatan 48, Stockholm
Redaktionsadress: Holmsöbergsgatan 14

Stockholm den 19ten April 1921

Lieber Freund.

Wie Sie sehn bin ich noch immer hier. Mein Swedisches visum ist heute hinfällig, aber ich war gestern im Swedischen Passbureau um den Leuten zu sagen, dass sie mir entweder Deutsches transit verschaffen müssen, oder mich einsperren, ich kann sonst von hier nicht weg. Sie versprochen beim Deutschen Consul anzufragen, Was daraus wird, wies ich nicht. Es ist eine Gemeinheit, dass Deutschland mir nicht ein transit visum geben will. Ich weiss selbst nicht was aus der Sache wird, und ich bin so müde von dem Ganzen, dass es mir gleichgültig ist, was die Swedische Regierung macht.

Sie haben natürlich recht was Sie über die Osterreichische Bedingung betreffs Einreise sagen. Gewiss verlangt sie nicht mehr, als andere Regierungen. Es war nur ein bisschen zu unerwartet, dass man ein Schriftliches versprechen geben sollte. Ausserdem hätte es auch nichts genützt, denn die beiden S. waren schon fort, als das visum ankam. Ich konnte für die beiden nicht unterzeichnen und für mich war es nicht notwendig, da ich das Czechische visum habe. Ausserdem hatte ja das Osterreichische visum nichts genützt, wenn Deutschland kein transit visum erteilt.

Ich kann jetzt unmöglich schreiben, ich bin in einer sehr zweifelt gedruckter Stimmung und grässlich unruhig, später, wenn ich über meine visum Versuche schreiben werde, will ich auch Herrn Adler meine Aufwartung machen.

Ja ich weiss unsere Genossen in America sind sehr aufgeregt, dass ich es "wagte" in der World zu erscheinen. Unsere Genossen kommen eben aus der kleinlichen Veränsmüde nicht heraus. Einer unserer Genossen schlug sogar vor ich sollte von der Anarchistischen Presse boycotiert werden, wegen dieser Artikel. Man möchte fast heulen über solchen Blödsinn. Nun, ich bin mein Lebenlang eigen Bahnen gegangen und hoffe es auch ferner zu tun. Es wird Sie übrigens interessieren wenn ich Ihnen sage, dass fast alle erfahrenen Genossen mir rieten die Artikel der World zu geben, Kelly, Ricker, Malatesta, Keeli, Jensen, Nettlau, Genossen von der Freien Arb Stimme. Nur die Jungen, Unerfahrenen, um persönlichen Mut leidenden Genossen waren und sind dagegen, sie haben eben vor dem Urteil der Bolsheviki Angst, das ist alles.

Ich habe leider nicht alle Nummern der World, die meine Artikel enthalten, die vom 26ten, 27ten und 28ten habe ich überhaupt nicht erhalten. Ich telegraphiere heute an die World dass man mir sie schickt, bald sie eintreffen will ich Ihnen die ganze Serie schicken, vorläufig sende ich einige. Sie können natürlich mit dem Druck beginnen. Ich bestaue auf dieses Recht, weil ich wollte, dass die Anarchistische Presse das Material gedruckt. Eine Brochure sollte so schnell wie möglich erscheinen, denn bis es ganz in Ihrer Zeitung erscheint, dauert es zu lange. Was würde denn eine Brochure kosten?

Sie haben es geschrieben, leider musste ich den Zettel vernichten, als ich in dem Moment eine kleine Reise antreten musste und nicht mehr hier war. Aus der Reise würde irrtümlich nichts. Bitte wiederholen Sie was Sie an mir geschrieben, ich werde es ihm dann mitteilen.

Herzliche Grusse.

E. Goldman

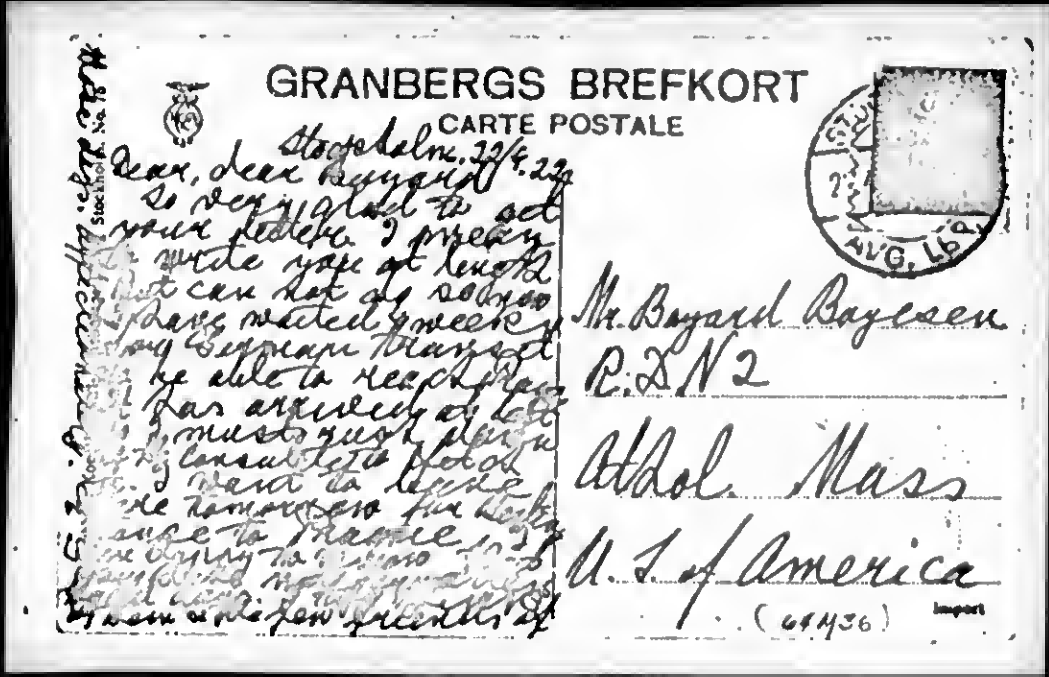
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]22 April 22, Stockholm [to] Bayard Boyesen, Athol, Mass. / E[mma] G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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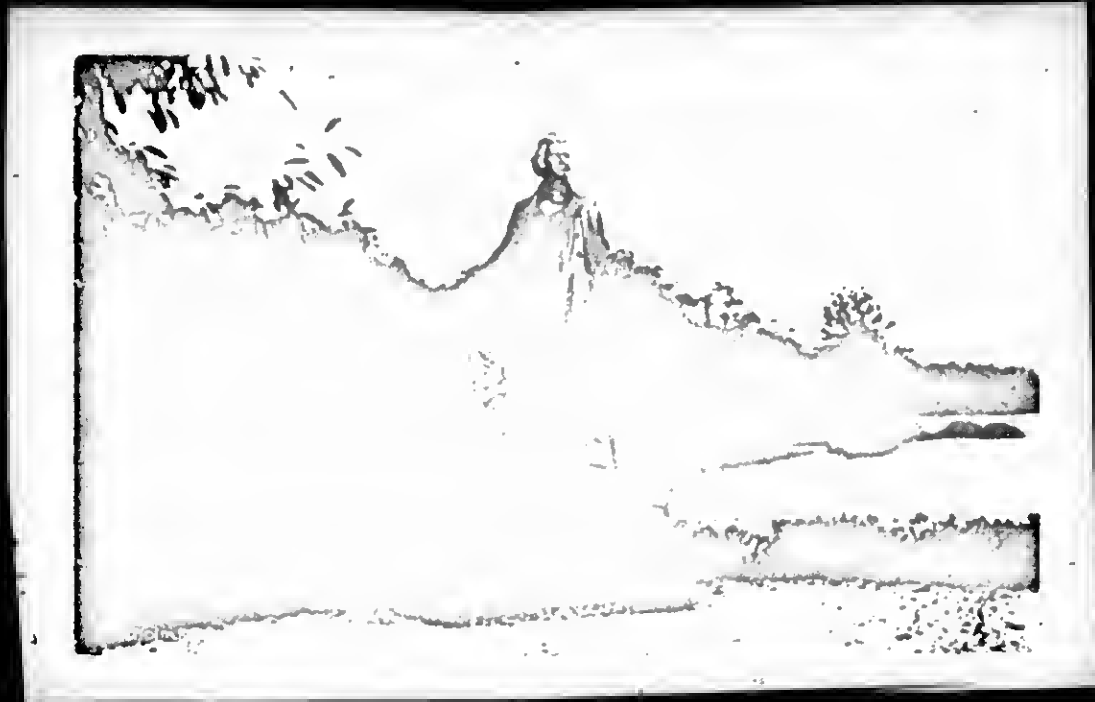


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APPROVED: April 20, 1944.

6030

[illegible]

EXHIBITION 1 of the "Revolution" is a collection of empty and
characteristic. Certainly, the "Revolution" is a revolutionary
daily, is nothing at all. The "Revolution" is a collection of
or its articles on the "Revolution" is a collection of the "Revolution".
I wish to state the feelings of the "Revolution" is a collection of
in all, I wish to state the feelings of the "Revolution" is a collection of
movement here.

I have asked that I be the critic sent to you, you should have received a letter from me. Sorry to say I do not have the whole set, the number of 1947, 1948, 1949, did not reach me at all. Concerning your article, I am not shocked. I am sure you must have the whole set by now. I am already arrived in Scotland, and is visiting the other half of the world to see him just as soon as I get there. The last time I saw him was just as that was applied to Russia. He was, and wrote me that nothing that was applied to Russia was, had caused such a stir as my articles. The N. spent 5000 dollars in advertising, and as it sold my articles to 50 papers, it did not stop on them. Of course, the Communists are wild and some of our own comrades want the Imperialist press to repudiate me. Now, don't you think I have received quite a number of commendable

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Letters from different people. The man from Peterson N. J. a Swiss. C Correspondent to a paper from through a paper, asked for the right to publish articles in the largest papers of France, Italy, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands. I refused, because we have our own papers in these countries, so they will not appear in the capitalist dailies. The letters will bring no articles, so will manifestas paper. I suppose the syndicalist will do the same, freedom even order a the worlds need in the world and wants to receive most of it. Brand, will get out a paper in the world. The article Mrs. Stine plans' a pamphlet in english and in english. so it will be in the entire march. Fred and also a pamphlet form. At some of the Lewis boys in N. Y. have been translated in the world way, if it were not so funny.

...after the war, if it were not so funny. I, our country, during the war, I hear through collectors after all, so that I have to publish them in Prague, to all the people, setting in Prague.

Dear Mr. Gurnea, I am terribly sorry that things look so gloomy
to you. Surely, I put on my glasses. If I definitely remain in
Europe until the end of the year, I will organize some printing work
for myself and my colleagues at the same time. I am very glad, but
that is so uncertain. It is a matter for you and that you have res-
ponsibilities. I think that I will stay in Europe, but it also means care,
so she cannot longer take care of me. Anyway, if there is anything
I can do to help, I will do very gladly. Please stay in touch with me.
Dear, I hope to hear from you soon. I will send it to you just as soon
as I get there. And please keep in contact. S. Bernstein, Berlin
Will return to the office in the autumn.

...with the women, they are
...have finished. You

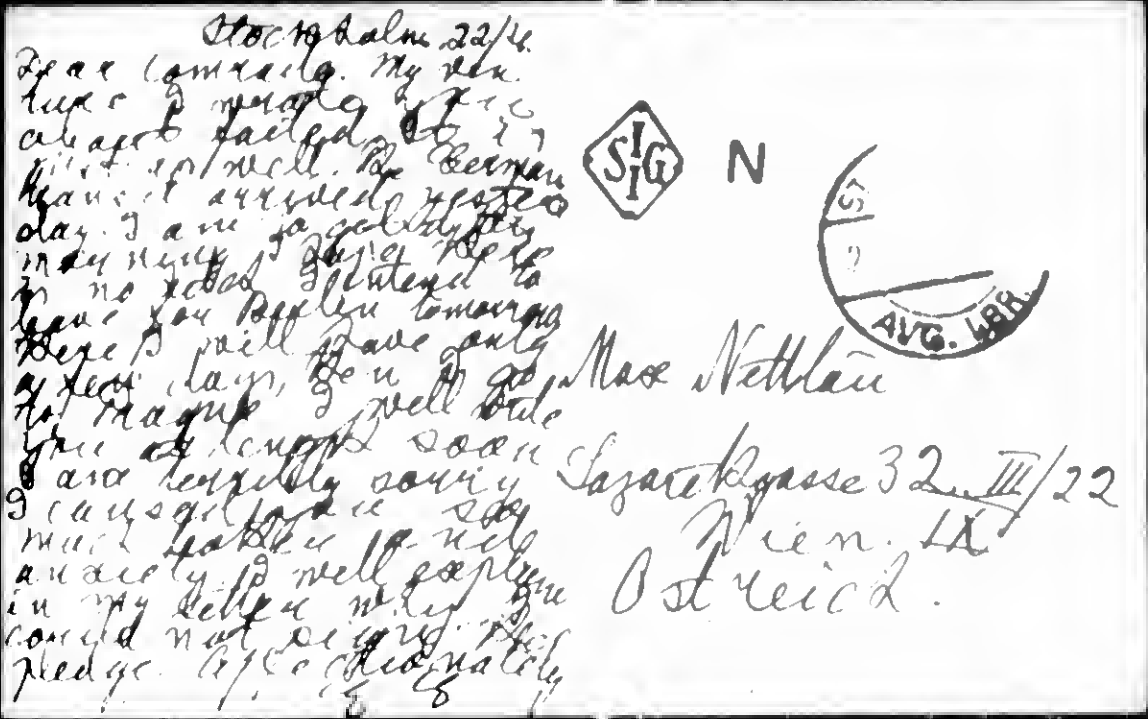
[illegible]

The models will be sent to you Monday,
also some of your pamphlets.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 1922] April 22, Stockholm [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

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[Postcard, 1922] April 22, Stockholm [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870928160

[Letter, 19]22 April 24, Stockholm [to] Emma [Goldman], Berlin / Arthur [Svensson].
— 2 p.; 14 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

One that your stay in Ber-
lin, will be a pleasant one.
My love to Sanya and Helen!
I will write you tomorrow
again. In a hurry now so as
to catch the train. I include
a humble flower, the first of
the spring of Sweden, with a
kind word for you, my darling.
And please, but not least, I send
you my own great love, dar-
ling dear, with a wish that
it all goes well and that we soon
may meet!

Your own, loving
Arthur

Stockholm 24/4

Dearest Emma!

Just now your train
is speeding towards Berlin
somewhere on the German
railways. I hope that your
journey has been a pleasant
one, though you are alone.
If you only begin be assured
of my love for you Sanya —
I wish the whole trip might
be all right. For by god, I
love you, my darling! Just
what I expected happened.
Now when you are gone do
I feel and realize how you

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My love is for you. I passed
 a sleepless night, thinking
 of you every minute. I could
 hear the clatter of the wheels
 against the rails, I could see
 you resting in your berth,
 I could feel your sacred hair
 against my forehead and I knew
 that I loved you. Yes, indeed
 I love you, immensely!
 I went to the library
 and was assured that it will
 be only a few tomorrow. Then
 I went to the post-bureau,
 where I received the post-gist
 without any postal delays.
 Tomorrow at ten o'clock I have
 to be at court and hope to be
 through with that. I am so glad
 so as to be able to go to
 the bicycle before 12.30. If all
 goes well, as you see, I may
 be able to leave on Friday night.
 I will let you know by cable.
 Well, that is good
 news, isn't it? I am already
 longing terribly to see you. I
 have such a awful heart-
 ache and suffer from nervous-
 ness, all of which will last
 till I see you again. May
 it be soon!
 I looked through the
 "ball" for you and, send you
 ever. Thus I found that I have
 not had time to see you today
 but I will do it to-morrow.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 27, Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Berlin] / [Arthur Svensson]. — 4 p. ; 14 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

cheap trip. I don't know
best but I don't like
the result so far. I am
just having luck. It is
3 o'clock and it is the
first to day. I arrived
here 9 o'clock this morning
and started out for the
gymnastics right away and
having a good talk
man for the afternoon.
There are about 1000
here and to go all a
sign on the door saying
that they have moved to
another street in the
other end of the town.

Copenhagen April 27th 1922.
10591

My Darling Emma!
I am awfully
miserable again. Fancy
having travelled half the
way to you and then being
held up for a couple of
days. Yes, I am stuck right
here for the present. The
god damned Germans had
to wire to Stockholm to
ask whether they could
give me a transit. They
will let me know tomorrow.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 27, Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Berlin] / [Arthur Svensson]. — 4 p. ; 14 × 21 cm.

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God know what the power. Stay away from you much
but it, they wanted all together. I am longing,
ignition, but it is. Longing for you. That
Oh, it's better to be just in that kind of desire
having a lot of things here now. To see you
given to the world. At this time I don't under-
stand what you mean. I can't stand what I did not
have been a bit. You get any telegram from
night. Well, I am happy. You know you are
now. I do not like to be married. I hope that
now I will go and know everything is all right.
The great power of you. I love, two days.
Oh, it is raining here. I told it is raining
and it is. You know also
how happy it is
travelling. I wanted a

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to the hospital. It was the
first time they had
been here but three
times. It finally found
them at 11.30 and was
admitted at once with
the above result. Blimey,
I am almost in a
despair. It is not very
promising for tomorrow.
Well, I shall
be here in a few days
at all. I am going
to a museum this
evening, and then to a

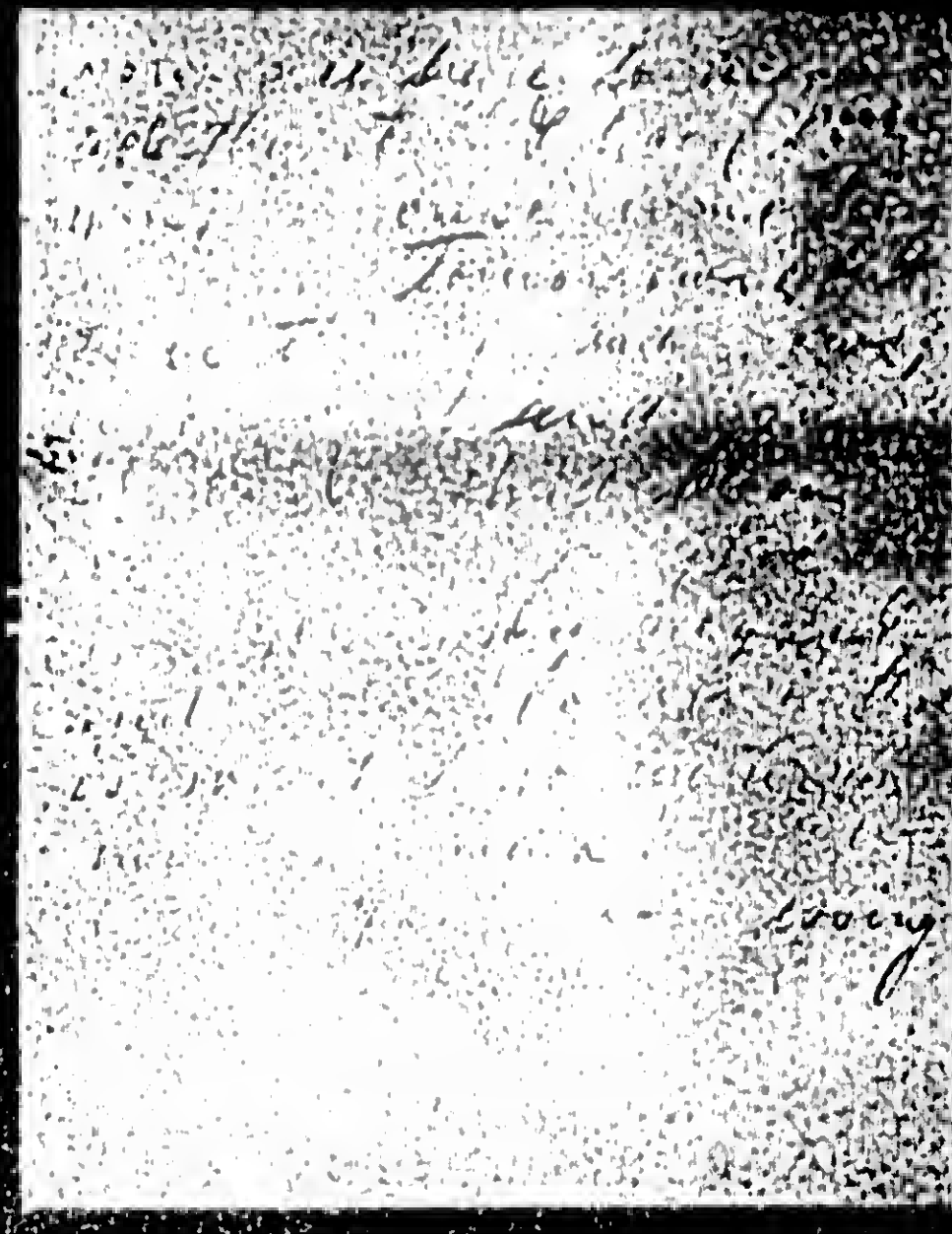
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539

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 April 27, Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Berlin] / [Arthur Svensson]. — 4 p. ; 14 × 21 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1922 April 27, Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Berlin] / [Arthur Svensson]. — 2 p. ; 16 × 21 cm.

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you all of love and kisses
that is possible in a letter.

Dearest Emma, I beg you
the Infant

Copenhagen April 27th
1922.

14589

Emma Darling!

I am so awfully sick
for you. Such a long time with-
out being able to get any word
from you. I only know, dearest,
that I love you, you and no-
body else and that I want you.
Yes I want you. It is terrible
to be without you, terrible.
I hope that this letter reaches
you before you leave Berlin.
But perhaps you have left
already. I don't know. I am
almost in a despair. It is
only the hope of seeing you
again that keeps me up.

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That is about all
I can say. I have nothing
new to write about and really
don't know why I write. But
it gives me a lot of comfort.
It is as if I was talking with
you, as if you were sitting
by my side. I have nowhere
to go. Three times have I been
to see the comrades here, but
it is impossible to get any
help from them. I hope you
have received my previous
letters, two of them with letters
from Edinburgh. God knows
whether I get the transit from
Stockholm. I am anxious
about it. In any case the
best night to be here next
Tuesday and I will leave as
soon as possible after that.

If I get the transit, which
I hope, I leave here 10.20 a.m.
and arrive in B. after 9 p.m.
If you aren't there, which
I don't suppose, I'll
stay there until the transit
lady and keep Sonya com-
pany. I hope all goes well!

Well, I got a few
lines together after all. I hope
they reach you. The rest of
your mail isn't of such
great importance so I do
not send it. One is from
Alice Stone Blackwell, another
from Sylvia.

Good night my
sweetheart! Don't forget
that I love you. May be
my love is very naive, but
it is great and rich. I send

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1922 April 28, Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Berlin] / [Arthur Svensson]. — 6 p.; 21 x 13 cm.
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PROVINS HOTELLET

VESTERBROGADE 22

KØBENHAVN B.

14595

April 28th 1922.

Emma Darling!

I am sick! Awfully sick! Lovesick. I am longing to see you, darling! And then getting into a situation like this. I was so sure that I would reach you in a short time. And how disappointed I was. I am stuck here, stuck! Can't get away. I'll tell you what happened.

Of course I fell asleep last night and of course I woke up about

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[Letter] 1922 April 28, Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Berlin] / [Arthur Svensson]. — 6 p.; 21 × 13 cm.

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you. I woke up at 7.30,
went asleep, awoke up¹⁴⁵⁹⁶
again at 8.45, went
asleep and woke up
again then to find the
time to be 12 o'clock and
myself to be more sleepy
than when I went to bed.
However, the germs closed
at 1 o'clock so I had to
hurry up to get dressed
and away. When I got
there I was told that they
could not give me any
more. I had to
go home. Then they wrote
something in it that
puzzles me, as I don't

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2.

14597

PROVINS HOTELLET

VESTERBROGADE 22

KØBENHAVN B.

understand it, and ~~then~~
stamped it this is what
the photo: Abg element.
They understood it in
a the very red line. The
I don't hit on right
in a misunderstanding
letter to my brother with
instructions and money
for the expenses. I don't
do not hit on right
it handle in my
return it to me. Anyway
I can't hope it will
earliest Tuesday. And
thought I would see you
tomorrow. Oh well!

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[Letter] 1922 April 28, Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Berlin] / [Arthur Svensson]. — 6 p.; 21 x 13 cm.

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Well, I have¹⁴⁵⁹⁸ to
be patient and try to
make myself comfortable
here. I am going back
to the above hotel and
pay for the room
today. Just now I am
having a cup of coffee
and sandwiches at a
restaurant. When I am
through with this letter,
the second cup of coffee
and the third sandwich
and have lit a I will
carry the letter to the post
office. I am going to
write you again soon.
I forgot to mention one
thing. I am going to
write you again soon.

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PROVINS HOTELLET

VESTERBROGADE 22

KØBENHAVN B

14599

5.
Dinner. I want some-
body to speak with and
I don't know anybody
but this comrade woman
I never met before. He
is married and got kids
so it is nothing for me.
Tomorrow I'll go to the
station for only thing so
as to get a clean collar
and handkerchief for you.
If I don't know Oh, I don't
know what to do.
To see you in the
evening I only have
to see you
I don't know what to do.

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I am reading 14600
you another letter from
Laird. If I only could
get some words from
you somehow. I am on
the point of giving up
my last letter to you. I
it is a waste of time to know
your opinions on this.
The paper you are
interested in is a
kind of a see and
again and you have
the same now from
your brother
I am reading

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Reel 12

Correspondence:

October 1, 1919 to April 30, 1922

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Ronald J. Zboray

and

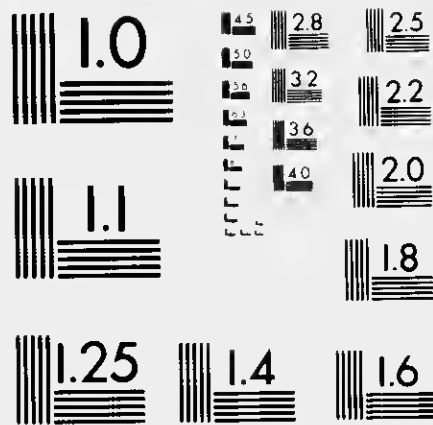
Daniel Cornford

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

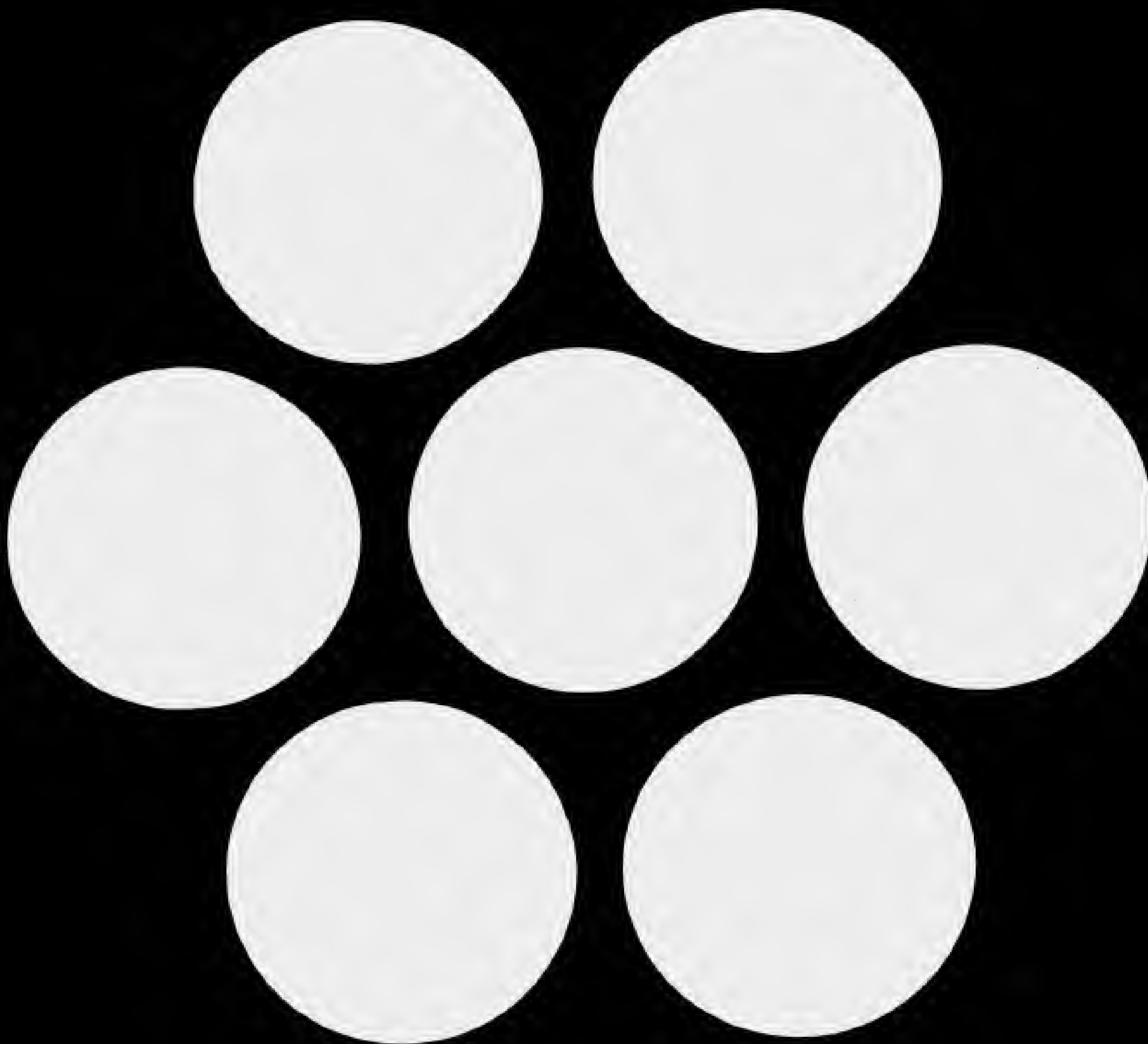
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